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Letters

TO OUR READERS

Thank you for the many kind and enthusiastic letters supporting our new expansion program. And welcome to Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), which has just become the ninth national organization to join the project. Several thousand WAND members are receiving this issue of NUCLEAR TIMES and the first WAND "Interactions" column appears on page 35. We're introducing yet another new section this issue, "Grass Roots" (pages 37-41), as well as a new logo, a photographic feature (by Robert Del Tredici, at right) and a comic strip (by Tom Toles, page 5). Those looking for "Deadline," the media newsletter which appeared in our centerfold last issue, will find it following page 42. Finally, we apologize to readers who have received multiple copies of NUCLEAR TIMES because they belong to several groups taking part in the expansion program. We'll have our "merge/purge" system worked out next issue.

Presidential No-First-Use

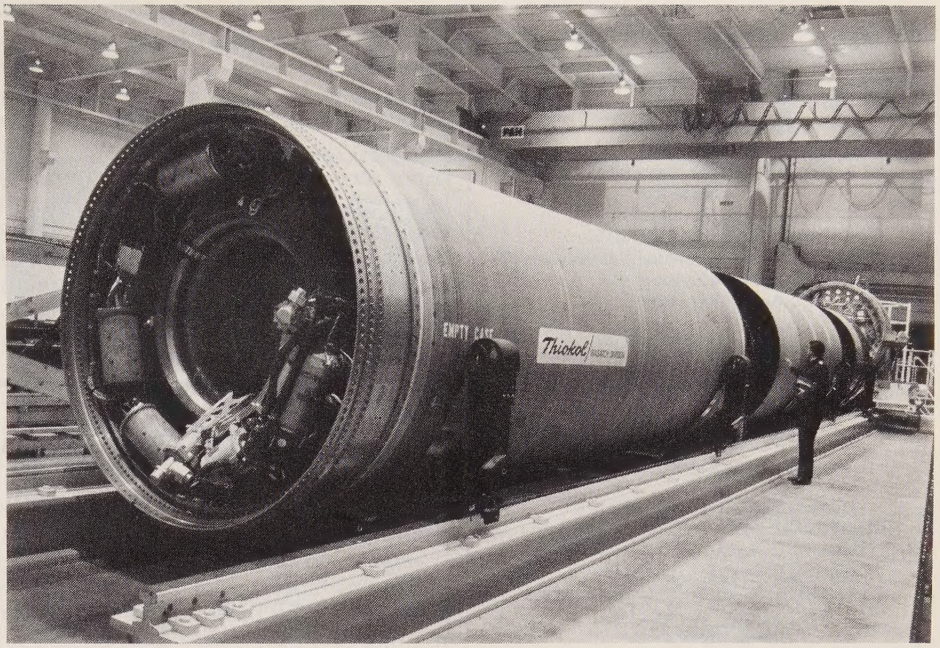
The March-April issue of NUCLEAR TIMES featured an article, "No-First-Use Debate Widens," which pictured Jeremy Stone addressing a "no-first-use" conference. The Federation of American Scientists (FAS)/Jeremy Stone proposal, however, is *not* a no-first-use proposal, although the literature that FAS distributes and the presentations made on the proposal rely heavily on "no-first-use" language.

The proposed statute is not even "no-presidential-first-use." Rather, the statute would permit the president to start a nuclear war, subject, *under limited conditions*, to veto by a small congressional committee, necessarily acting in secrecy. Under the proposed statute the president would retain the power to use nuclear weapons first if Congress declared war. In the absence of a declaration of war (and who bothers with this formality anymore?) the president retains power to begin a nuclear war if the United States receives warning of a nuclear attack.

It would be a grave mistake for Congress to enshrine the principle that to begin a nuclear war is in the interest of the United States and the world, and that nuclear war is an appropriate means to settle world conflict. The FAS proposed statute would generate the dangerous illusion that adequate safeguards are in place to prevent the president from starting a nuclear war.

—Claire Thomas
Bellevue, Wa.

(Jeremy Stone replies: *For 40 years, Amer-*



VIEWS FROM THE NUCLEAR WORLD *by Robert Del Tredici*
The first three stages of the MX rocket system are shown at rest in the MX Integrated Test Facility at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. The fourth stage of the missile is out of the frame at the left. It is not allowed to be photographed. It contains the "bus"—the rotating platform that individually delivers each of the missile's 10 warheads.

CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS 5
NUCLEAR CULTURE *by David Corn* 8
NATIONAL
Arms Control Advances on Hill? *by David Halperin* 10
The Fall and Rise of The Great Peace March *by Renata Rizzo* . . 12
Pennsylvania's Key Senate Primary *by M.B. Christie* 15
STAR STRUCK *by Douglas Lavin* 16
RESEARCH & ANALYSIS
Nuclear Winter & Nuclear Strategy *by Susan Subak* 18
The CIA and Security Scholarship *by Laurence & Dewart* 21
Research Aids 22
COVER
Real Security *by Greg Mitchell* 23
Redefining National Security *by Lester R. Brown* 25
Targeting the Budget *by Beth Baker* 28
Europe: The Central Dilemma *by Thomas Powers* 30
INTERACTIONS
Reports from Nine Organizations 32
GRASS ROOTS
Organizing Around the Test Ban *by Alex Miller* 37
Burnout—Part II *by Henry Epstein* 38
Ideas That Work *by Renata Rizzo* 40
Resources *by Ann Marie Cunningham* 41
DEADLINE
New York University's Media Newsletter . . . . . insert
CALENDAR 43

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ican presidents have been accorded the authority to turn a conventional conflict abroad into a nuclear war via first-use of nuclear weapons and to do so in the absence of a declaration of war. The situation should be changed. But how much can it be changed at once? A few propose the enormously difficult task of persuading the nation to adopt the view that international law or our Constitution prevents any first-use of nuclear weapons. We have proposed a more plausible shift in direction because a lesser one. By getting the congressional leadership into the act, the statute puts the nation on a more suitable road. And it does so on the basis of an interpretation of the requirements of law and the Constitution that is far more compelling and hence more likely to find itself adopted. Finally, we mean by "presidential"-first-use the first-use of nuclear weapons by a president without the involvement of Congress as a whole or a leadership committee of Congress.)

Send letters to the editor to NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Nuclear Times Wins Olive Branch Award

For the second time in three years, NUCLEAR TIMES has received an Olive Branch Award, given annually "for outstanding coverage of the nuclear arms issue." Only *Scientific American* has won more "Ollies." The judges honored NUCLEAR TIMES "for continuing coverage of antinuclear issues and in particular editor Greg Mitchell's series of articles based on his month-long visit to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer of 1984."

Other winners this year, chosen from more than 50 entries, were *BioScience*, *The Christian Century*, *Esquire*, *McCall's*, *Parade*, *Science '85*, *Science Digest*, *Scientific American* and *Time*. Presenters at the March 25 ceremony in New York City included Sam Waterston, E.L. Doctorow, Lee Grant and Judy Collins. For the first time, Olive Branch Awards, which are sponsored by the Editors' Organizing Committee, the Writers' and Publishers' Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament and the New York University Center on War, Peace and the News Media, were given to outstanding books. And the winners are: *War* by Gwynne Dyer and *Star Warriors* by William J. Broad, and in the juvenile category, Whitley Strieber's *Wolf of Shadows* and Milton Meltzer's *Ain't Gonna Study War No More.* □

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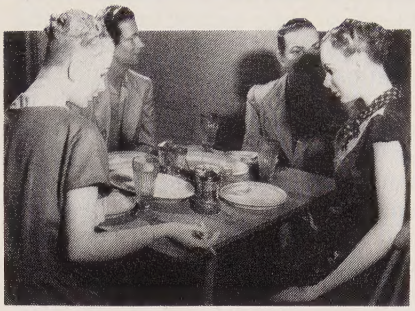
EARLY WARNINGS

PBS Drops Film

The film *Dark Circle*, which profiles individuals whose lives have been destroyed or disrupted by the nuclear weapons industry, has been shown in movie houses in the United States and on television in 17 countries, including China. But it is currently losing a one-year battle to air on nationwide television in this country. Ten months after accepting the independently-produced film for an evening broadcast slot, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) has withdrawn its offer. "The film wasn't journalistically responsible," Barry Chase, director of public affairs programming at PBS, tells us. "It didn't provide any opportunity for those who differ with the opinion of the filmmakers to air their views."

However, Judy Irving and Chris Beaver, who filmed *Dark Circle*, relate the story of a long and expensive effort to satisfy PBS's concerns over



Scene from "Dark Circle"

the editorial content as well as the packaging of the film. According to the filmmakers, they were asked to verify some of the factual content of the material, but the questions from PBS never arrived. At their own expense, they added an introductory and closing segment narrated by Representative Patricia Schroeder. They were then told that they would have to arrange for a panel to argue the pros and cons of *Dark Circle's* editorial content at the close of the film. The filmmakers agreed to do this and pay one-half of its $20,000 cost. Several months later, they received a letter from PBS saying that the film could not be aired at all.

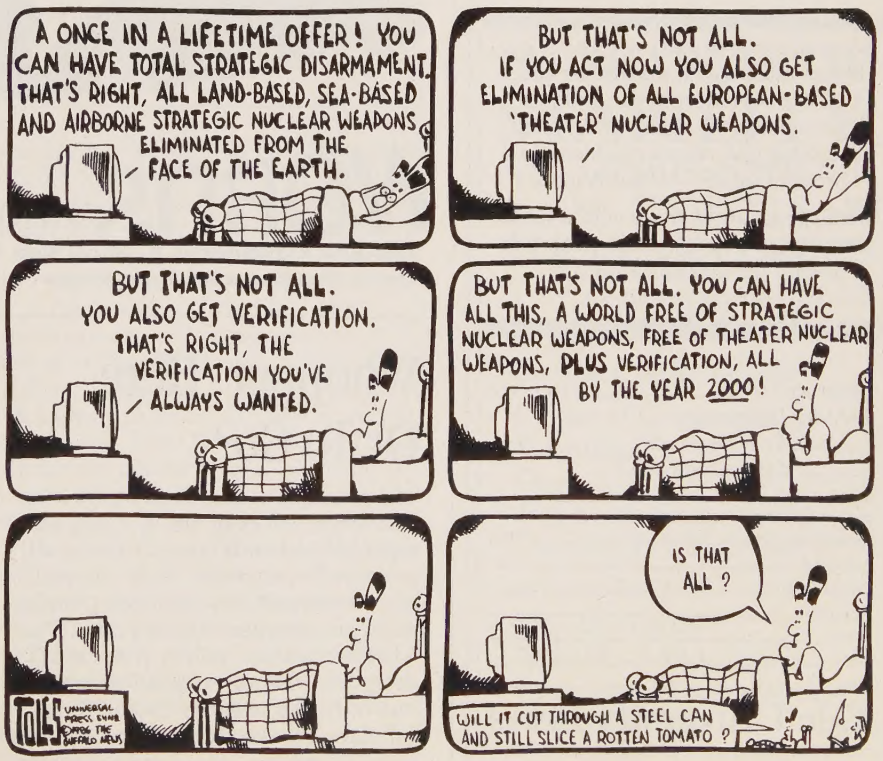
But Irving and Beaver, and KQED, the San Francisco station that is backing the film, have not given up. They are planning to continue to meet with PBS executives to try to reach a new agreement. "It's more than a case of getting *Dark Circle* aired," says Chris Beaver. "Everyone filming on the nuclear issue faces tremendous obstacles." Larry Daressa at the Coalition of Independent Public Broadcasting Producers agrees that it is difficult for independent filmmakers to get their work on national television, "especially if it doesn't have a bland point of view," he says. "*Dark Circle* is the worst case I know of," he adds, "because they cancelled the show after accepting it originally." □

Talking Heads

What's this about a SANE-Freeze Campaign merger? Leaders of the two national organizations acknowledge that this sensitive subject is being discussed but insist that the word for now is "unity," not "merger." The two groups, with the assistance of the Peace Development Fund, have formed a commission headed by SANE's Cora Weiss and the Freeze Campaign's Nick Carter. They are "looking at ways SANE and the Freeze and other groups can work together to form a large and powerful and more unified peace community," comments Jane Gruenebaum, national director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. "Whether that means SANE and the Freeze should merge, or form a federation with other groups, is an open question." By the end of April the commission had met three times. Gruenebaum hopes that it can come up with something before the next Freeze national conference in December. "We're all conscious that we have to make a movement," Gruenebaum observes, "not just talk about making a movement." □

Mike/Hammer

In the six years that Plowshares activists have been taking on the nuclear weapons industry, they've gotten used to the national media's disinterest in their work. Few mainstream journalists know how to deal with either their *modus operandi*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EARLY WARNINGS

(attacking nuclear weapons with hammers and dousing them with blood) or their motive (moral necessity dictates that such weapons be eliminated). So you can imagine the surprise of the Silo Plowshares as they took hammers to missile silos at Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri on March 28 to look up and see none other than Mike Wallace and a *60 Minutes* camera crew just outside the fence.

"They were filming the whole time that we worked," recalls Ken Rippetoe, one of the five Silo Plowshares, who await trial on two federal charges. "It was really pretty awkward." Rippetoe, who says he has no idea who tipped *60 Minutes* off to the dawn action, reports that Wallace pelted the activists with questions like, "Why are you here? Do you realize the consequences? What do you hope to gain by this puny and insignificant action?" Comments Rippetoe: "We felt it was pretty rude at the time, but we figured that he was being antagonistic to create a story."

Paul Fine, a *60 Minutes* producer who was present at the filming, confirms this report. "Wallace," he explains, "was obviously trying to get the hair up on their backs." Fine, who bills himself as "the radical" at *60 Minutes*, says that the segment will air some time next season. Will *60 Minutes* trivialize the action and its message? Not according to Fine, who says that "their [the Plowshares'] dedication was unbelievable. Mike Wallace and all of us were very moved. To know that these people are facing 18 years in prison [the sentence handed down in a recent Plowshares case] and to see a tank rolling down the road with machine guns jutting out of it—you really see what these people are up against." Wallace, who knew nothing about the Plowshares until recently, is now taking a personal interest in them, Fine says. Meanwhile, the government has taken a personal interest in the footage, which it is trying to obtain from CBS. The network's stance, says Fine, is firm: no film. "Why do they need it?" he asks. "These people [the Plowshares] have admitted full guilt." □

The Silo Plowshares (l. to r.): Ken Rippetoe, Larry Morlan, Jean Gump, Darla Bradley, and John Volpe

Whopper: Here Or To Go?

The Pentagon has been known to misinform or even lie to Congress, especially when it comes time to sell a weapons program. Now the military has apparently decided to make misrepresentation official policy. The "disinformation" policy, purportedly designed not to mislead Congress but rather to stop the flow of technical data to the Soviet Union, has been going on "for a time, but it has not been until very recently that there has been an increased emphasis," an anonymous Department of Defense (DOD) official told *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, which broke the Tall-Story story.

According to *Aviation Week*, the disinformation policy has probably affected reports on SDI, as well as six other DOD programs, and several programs not connected to the Pentagon. The magazine reported that the policy is coordinated by the CIA and that disinformation is most effectively conveyed in technical reports and interviews with the press using

"a mixture of truth and fiction." A six-inch thick document describing the policy has been circulating throughout the armed services, according to *Aviation Week*. Four Senators have asked the Senate's Intelligence Committee to look into the matter.

What happens if the Pentagon observes that Congress is about to cast a vote on the basis of a tall tale? "There are channels on the Hill that can be used to get the correct information to the people who need to know," a DOD official told *Aviation Week*. But three well-placed aides on Capitol Hill told NUCLEAR TIMES they had never heard of any member of Congress being informed that a Pentagon "fact" was actually a lie intended for Soviet consumption. One aide said that if such a policy actually existed it would have leaked out long ago, and suggested that recent news about the disinformation policy might *itself* be disinformation. □

House Probes FBI

Recent disclosures by KRON-TV in San Francisco that the FBI has classified material on Samantha Smith has led to renewed interest in the scope of investigations of national peace groups. The Samantha Smith material, which according to the FBI is classified "for reasons of national defense or foreign policy," consists of 11 pages of documents drawn from files on other individuals or groups where references to the Maine schoolgirl are made.

As a result of the KRON-TV report, the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights has undertaken new efforts to learn the extent to which the FBI's foreign intelligence guidelines have led the bureau to conduct "preliminary investigations" into possible foreign influence on political groups. □

Hold The SALT

The effort to save SALT II was marked by cooperation between lobbyists, arms control analysts, and Capitol Hill staffers, most notably from the Armed Services Committee, chaired by Representative Les Aspin. Making SALT II his top priority, Aspin released a report warning of the dangers of scuttling the treaty. Nancy Donaldson, lobbyist for Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), who helped coordinate the pro-SALT effort, admits that some groups might criticize working with Aspin because of his support for the MX and other weapons systems. But she argues that many activists share Aspin's belief that preserving the SALT limits of 1200 multiple warheads for each side was the most urgent arms control task this spring. "This has been a perfect opportunity," she says, "to work with the House Armed Services Committee." Adds Council for a Livable World's John Isaacs: "The SALT issue is the fulcrum of U.S.-Soviet relations now." □

BLIPS

Educators for Social Responsibility will be combatting the notorious ABC-TV movie **Amerika** next spring with group discussions and a study guide as part of its new "Learning About the Soviet Union" educational project . . . **U.S. Catholic Bishops** have finally named a committee to decide whether their 1983 pastoral letter's conditional support of deterrence doctrine should be rescinded, and are aiming for a decision by November 1987 . . . **Mobilization for Survival** is planning international actions against the U.S. naval buildup June 27-29 and a major action at Cape Canaveral next January to protest the Navy's first test of the Trident II missile . . . Press reports on U.S. plans to build a supersonic **"space plane"** focused on how it might succeed the space shuttle or allow travelers to get from New York to Tokyo in two hours. Missing was its nuclear weapons delivery role, as noted by Stanley A. Tremaine, deputy for development planning in the Air Force Systems Command, who in 1984 called the space plane "a killer Air Force weapon system that can go out and get the enemy" . . . Voters in **Alaska** will consider a state Freeze initiative in November, while residents of **Tacoma, Washington** will take up a no-first-use question and those in **Montana** vote on divesting state funds from businesses that make nuclear weapons . . . Most arms control PACs are steering clear of hot Democratic primary races involving **Julian Bond** and **John Lewis** in Georgia, **Joe Kennedy** and a host of others in Massachusetts, and the **Barbara Mikulski-Michael Barnes** Senate race in Maryland. "Love Boat" star **Fred Grandy** is one of four Republicans running for retiring Democrat Berkley Bedell's House seat in Iowa . . .

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NUCLEAR CULTURE

I hope the Russians love Sting, too, for it looks like the pop star wants to put his passport where his lyrics are. After singing of the biological bonds that unite the Soviet masses and the people of the West in "Russians," a track on his recent album, *The Dream of the Blue Turtles*, Sting has become the Sovietphile of rock music. He recently showed up at Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poetry reading in New York City's Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Afterward he joined the Soviet poet—who refers to him as "Mister Sting"—at a Russian restaurant for a party dominated by Russian-style toasts. Now

comes word Sting is exploring some sort of project in the Soviet Union.

It remains unclear exactly what Sting might do. Options appear to range from a concert in Moscow with his band to a film project to joining up with Soviet musicians. In March, he met with a Soviet cultural attaché and a representative of the Soviet state booking agency. "It was a get-to-know-you dinner," says Kenny Schaffer, the man who brought live Soviet television to Columbia University by satellite, who is a long-time friend of the musician.

Sting wants to do more than "just another John Denver tour," Schaffer notes (indicating that a straightforward concert in Moscow is out). "He wants to be more creative," he adds. "He's into doing something very visible, dramatic, hopeful and optimistic."

What prompted Sting's interest in the East? *People* mistakenly reported it followed a night he spent with Schaffer watching Soviet television at Columbia. "It's more than that," Schaffer says. "He has a family. He deplores the politics of the button. This is more than just a stop along the bus route for him." A New York funder who recently attended a meeting with Sting in New York noted that the musician eloquently described the hope his music could transcend borders and play some role in bettering relations between East and West. Sting is also playing a number of benefits for Amnesty International this spring.

Cynics may scoff at pop music diplomacy. But with millions of young people being weaned on *Rambo* and *Red Dawn*—and Wendy's commercials promoting Soviet stereotypes—perhaps a "Sting in Moscow" rockumentary on MTV (album and picture book to follow) might offer a countervailing wind from the East.

* * *

Keith Haring came to prominence as an artist known for drawing graffiti-like figures on empty posterboards in the New York City subway system. While his underground work has now become internationally known and coveted—*20/20* recently devoted a segment to him—he has continued to support the antinuclear weapons movement with his art.

Recently, he donated a work to the ill-fated PROPeace, which emblazoned the design on t-shirts. Another drawing adorns the cassette cover of "Two for One—Summit Up," a recording put out last fall by peace activists in Pennsylvania. Haring has also contributed to the traveling Art for Nuclear Disarmament show. At the June 12 rally in 1982 he handed out 20,000 posters.

"To me, it's really simple," Haring says. "It's not a question of much consideration. I do this work because I think life is really important. Being as visible as I am, it becomes part of my responsibility as an artist."

From the peace movement to African famine relief to opposing apartheid, Haring has used his fame to advance causes. "I usually do anything anybody asks me," Haring notes. "I had a political consciousness before I became successful. Now I have the possibility to use it."

* * *

Gunther Grass' latest work, *Die Rättin* (*The Rats*), a meditation on nuclear apocalypse, is expected this fall in an English translation. Grass, author of *The Tin Drum* and a leading figure in the West German peace movement, reportedly spent three years brooding, sculpting and drawing, often in the presence of caged rats, before producing this book of prose and poetry, which brings back Oskar Matzerath, the child protagonist of *The Tin Drum*, who is now 60.

—David Corn

TOM BLOOM

Campaign to Win the U.S. Senate

Freeze Voter Countdown '86

RE-ELECTION CHANCES OF SENATE CANDIDATES

SAFE	POTENTIALLY MARGINAL	MARGINAL	TOSS-UP OR OPEN SEAT
ADVOCATES			
John Glenn–OH	Chris Dodd–CT		Pat Leahy–VT
Daniel Inouye–HI	Alan Dixon–IL		*Gary Hart–CO
	Mark Andrews–ND		*Charles Mathias–MD
	Alan Cranston–CA		*Tom Eagleton–MO
	Dale Bumpers–AR		
	Fritz Hollings–SC		
OPPONENTS			
Alfonse D'Amato–NY	Jeremiah Denton–AL	Slade Gorton–WA	Steve Symms–ID
Robert Dole–KS	Don Nickles–OK	Mack Mattingly–GA	*John East–NC
Jake Garn–UT	Charles Grassley–IA	Robert Kasten–WI	Paula Hawkins–FL
Frank Murkowski–AK	Wendell Ford–KY		Jim Abdnor–SD
Warren Rudman–NH	Bob Packwood–OR		Arlen Specter–PA
Dan Quayle–IN			*Barry Goldwater–AZ
			*Russell Long–LA
			*Paul Laxalt–NV

*Retiring–open seat

Progress is steady and excitement is building around Freeze Voter's Countdown to a new Senate in 1986. With staff working hard in the field, volunteers and activists expanding their involvement, and top-notch candidates hitting the campaign trail, we project a significant change in the Senate after the November elections. *(See chart)*

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Test Ban Issue Comes To Life

New measures in the House and Senate gain support

BY DAVID HALPERIN

The broad support President Reagan had garnered from last year's summit has dissipated, and arms control lobbyists hope to turn congressional discontent into legislative victories. The end of the latest honeymoon between Reagan and Congress has produced a flurry of Capitol Hill initiatives aimed at putting arms control back on track. Much of the action has centered on the test ban issue.

When the House passed Joint Resolution 3, which called on Reagan to resume negotiations on a comprehensive test ban (CTB), by a vote of 268–148 in late February, lobbyists were delighted. They credited the win to the sustained effort of Representative Berkley Bedell, strong cooperation among the various peace groups, and the active involvement of the Democratic leadership.

But excitement over the test ban victory did not last. House Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Dante Fascell, who led the floor debate for the measure, had stressed that the resolution does *not* tie the President's hands. The measure had become so noncontroversial—Reagan did not lobby against the bill as hard as he might have—that some lobbyists were hoping for a new test ban vote that would more clearly draw the line between arms controllers and opportunists. Representative Tom Downey told NUCLEAR TIMES he was optimistic that senior House members and moderates would become more involved in the test ban issue, and he predicted increased support for a bill, sponsored by Representative Pat Schroeder, that would cut off funds for nuclear tests for six months so long as the Soviet Union does not test.

As NUCLEAR TIMES went to press, Schroeder, Downey and Representative Edward Markey hoped to offer the bill on the House floor as an amendment to either a supplemental appropriations bill, or, later in May, to the Defense Authorization bill. Lobbyists counted 150 solid votes for the measure, with 30 more members leaning toward it—surprisingly strong support for a proposal that had been labeled "pretty radical stuff" by one arms control analyst only a few weeks earlier. Some proponents of the legislation, which has been buttressed by strong grass-roots activity (*see page 37*) even see a chance for victory, if not on its first test, then perhaps as an amendment to the Defense Appropriations bill later this year. But the resumption of Soviet testing and an impending summit could dampen enthusiasm for the effort by fall.

Schroeder wants a CTB that binds

The measure would be given a boost if Representative Les Aspin, the Armed Services Committee chairman, held hearings. But an aide acknowledged that the CTB is "not a major priority" for Aspin. Nor has Fascell embraced the Schroeder measure. Instead he hopes that the Senate will take up H.J. Res. 3.

FLIP-FLOP IN SENATE?

In the wake of the House victory, Senators Edward Kennedy and Charles Mathias are pushing Senate adoption of H.J. Res. 3. In 1984, the two senators sponsored an amendment identical to H.J. Res. 3, which was adopted by a 77–22 vote. John Isaacs, legislative director with the Council for a Livable World, doubts that a test ban bill could pass by such a large margin this year. But he says there would be political pressure on senators not to "flip-flop" on the issue. Among the senators who voted for the measure in 1984 are a number of Republicans who face tough reelection bids this fall: Paula Hawkins, Robert Kasten, Arlen Specter, James Abdnor and Slade Gorton.

Furthermore, if passed by a simple majority in the Senate—possibly as early as May—the joint resolution would go to the President, and Reagan would be forced either to veto it, and highlight his opposition to a highly popular proposal, or sign it and commit his own flip-flop. "We'd like to see something on the President's desk," said Kennedy aide Thomas Longstreth.

Last December, however, Senators Claiborne Pell and John Danforth introduced their own test ban resolution, which calls for an agreement to reduce the permitted explosive yield of nuclear tests to "the lowest possible verifiable levels." The low threshold approach, said a Pell aide, would allow tests to assure weapons reliability, which Administration officials have insisted will be re-

quired indefinitely.

The two resolutions are competing for attention with a Senate version of the Schroeder cutoff bill sponsored by, among others, Alan Cranston and Mark Hatfield. But Senate aides believe this bill faces the same murky fate as its House counterpart. They predict that the Administration will react aggressively to any attempt to delete funds for nuclear programs.

"For organizing purposes," says Isaacs, "it would be nice to have a single approach" in the Senate. But if support coalesces around the Kennedy-Mathias effort and the resolution passes, some arms controllers predict, the President might sign it—and then simply ignore it. A number of observers, indeed, wonder why Reagan simply doesn't initiate and then sabotage test ban talks with the Soviets.

"People are getting the message" that the Administration is blocking a major arms control initiative, says Jane Gruenebaum, the Freeze Campaign's national director. But some analysts, citing cynical media coverage of the Gorbachev test ban initiative, predict that the issue will not be a major factor at the polls this fall. And it remains to be seen whether the prospect of another summit—like the brief euphoria that followed Summit I—will take the fight out of Congress again. □

SDI Budget Gymnastics Take Center Stage

The numbers are in: 4.8, 2.8, 2.0. They are, respectively (in billions of dollars), the Administration request for Pentagon SDI funding; the amount (based on perceived political realities) for which most peace groups in Washington will lobby; and the maximum amount many arms control analysts believe *should* be spent on antimissile research.

The $4.8 billion request represents a 74 percent increase over last year's $2.8 level. John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) estimates that up to $1.5 billion of this increase is "cut insurance." Therefore, Pike says, a freeze at $2.8 billion this year would reduce the actual planned SDI budget by $500 to $750 million. That reduction, he says, would cut out some marginal programs and slow some higher priority programs.

The impetus for the early commitment to the $2.8 billion figure, which has gained support in the House, came largely from Common Cause, according to several lobbyists. Some of them are mildly critical of Common Cause's proclivity for "pragmatism," as one put it. But most felt that an early commitment to a unified lobbying strategy would aid the effort. Kathleen Hancock, legislative liaison for FAS, believes that an appropriation of $2.8 billion would make next year's projected request of more than $5.5 billion look "pretty absurd."

Still, FAS and the Center for Defense Information (CDI) will continue to argue for a lower figure for SDI—$2 billion—with full funding for basic research but no money for demonstration projects or for programs that were deemphasized by Administration studies. SANE continues to oppose in principle *all* funding for SDI research.

Even $2 billion sounds like a great deal of money, considering that funding for strategic defense programs in the several years prior to Reagan's 1983 Star Wars speech had hovered at slightly under $1 billion. But arms control analysts insist that such an expenditure is justified by the need to cope with the rapid pace of technological change. "Five years ago, whoever heard of railguns?" Pike says. Indeed, these analysts point out, even prior to 1983, the United States had planned to spend one to two billion for strategic defense programs this year.

But analysts warn that, whatever the final budget figure, SDI is diverting resources from the traditional aim of ensuring that the United States could quickly compete if Moscow decided to dump the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. The United States is "conducting the wrong kind of programs if you're concerned about a hedge against a Soviet 'breakout,'" says CDI's Steve Daggett. A recently-released staff report for Senators William Proxmire, J. Bennett Johnston and Lawton Chiles came to the same conclusion.

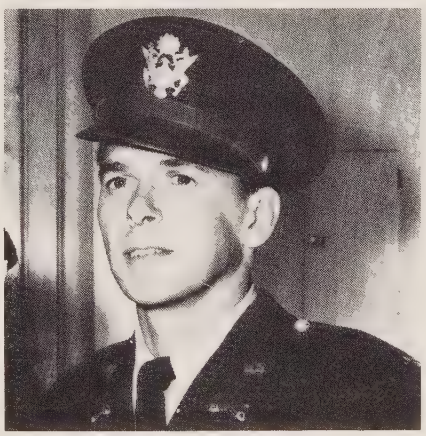
"The most important issue," says Hancock, "is not the funding level but that we do not violate the ABM Treaty." Recently, Star Wars chief James Abrahamson and Weinberger aide Richard Perle were on Capitol Hill pushing for the "less restrictive" interpretation of the ABM Treaty concocted by the Administration last October. That version, criticized by, among others, the treaty's chief U.S. negotiator, Gerard Smith, would permit unlimited testing of space-based antimissile systems which use new technologies. Perle said the new reading was "the only version we recognize to be legally correct." In response, arms controllers are considering a non-binding congressional resolution of support for the previous interpretation. **—D.H.**

Reel Security

"It not only makes the United States invincible in war, but in so doing promises to become the greatest force for world peace ever discovered, which is the hope and prayer of all thinking people." Ho-hum, another Administration appeal for Star Wars? Wrong. The program in question is not the Strategic Defense Initiative but the inertia projector, "a new super-weapon which projects electric waves capable of paralyzing direct or alternating currents at their source."

Haven't heard of it? Then you haven't seen *Murder in the Air*, a 1940 Warner Brothers film starring—that's right—Ronald Reagan.

A recent CBS "60 Minutes" segment exposed the President's proclivity for borrowing movie dialogue for his public statements, and passing them off as historical facts. But CBS did not report on *Murder in the Air*, a copy of which is in the archives of the Center for Defense Information in



Washington. In the film, Reagan portrays U.S. agent Brass Bancroft, who orders a scientist aboard the U.S. dirigible *Mason* to "focus that inertia projector on 'em and let 'em have it." The device successfully shoots down an enemy spy plane. Bancroft (i.e., Reagan) calls it "the greatest war weapon ever invented, which by the way is the exclusive property of Uncle Sam." **—D.H.**

Across The Great Divide

The fall and rise of the Great Peace March

BY RENATA RIZZO

An emotional David Mixner stood in the wind on a desert dirt road outside of Barstow, California. He faced the 900 PROPeace marchers that had given up jobs, left families and, in some cases, sold their homes to be part of his 3300-mile pilgrimage to Washington, D.C. Now, after enduring two weeks of punishing weather and organizational chaos, the marchers waited to hear what many already sensed.

"It is going to be necessary for PROPeace to fold, so that the debts not be an unbearable burden for those of you who wish to continue," Mixner said. "I am deeply, deeply sorry if anything I have done has caused you pain or inconvenience," he continued, struggling to keep his composure. "I am deeply, deeply proud to be standing among such courageous people."

Then Mixner turned to Tim Carpenter, who headed up PROPeace's field staff, and said, "*You* tell them about the future."

For even while PROPeace was collapsing under a staggering financial crisis, a new organization—called the Great Peace March for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc.—was taking its first tentative steps. And the antinuclear movement, responding to a group stripped of all pretension and monetary resources, rallied 'round.

OUT OF THE ASHES

"No matter what happens, we're going to make it to D.C.," says Richard Hamel, one of several PROPeace staffers who stayed on to volunteer with the new, marcher-run group. "We've got too much invested in this. We've risked hypothermia and starvation. If just 10 people make it, we'll be there in November."

By mid-April, headlines in the *Los Angeles Times* were announcing that the roughly 400 remaining marchers had "beaten the odds" by arriving—with considerable fanfare—in Las Vegas. The group had already raised some $60,000, and continued to net contributions of around $4000 a day, with larger donations coming in from Paul Newman ($25,000) and the Peace Development Fund in Amherst, Massachusetts ($15,000). Although Newman, actor Robert Blake (the group's official celebrity spokesman along the march route), and Burt Reynolds are all lending support, the group's lifeblood lies in the movement's grass roots.

March in Vegas: "Beating the odds"

"The peace and justice organizations have come on board," says Richard Hamel. Jesse Jackson publicly endorsed the march in early April, and two Great Peace marchers were invited to attend the recent national convention of the Rainbow Coalition. "We can now say to the movement," Hamel adds, "come on in—this is *our* march."

An example of new-found support comes from the Freeze Campaign, which in 1985 took months to grudgingly endorse PROPeace. By contrast, Tim Carpenter and Robert Blake needed just 15 minutes at the group's national committee meeting on April 6 to win a unanimous endorsement from the roughly 70 activists there.

"It seems to me that the new group reflects a spirit more of hard, day-to-day work, as opposed to the Madison Avenue approach of PROPeace," says Jane Gruenebaum, the Freeze Campaign's executive director. "Plus they're pushing a real political program that includes a freeze and a CTB." (The group also endorses the ABM treaty; an end to the militarization of space; and a no-first-use policy.)

The trek to Las Vegas underlined a growing level of community support. Marchers tell stories of restaurants donating 1000 slices of pizza, of churches and synagogues and citizens taking them in when no camping permits could be obtained, of spontaneous donations of money from total strangers. "I stopped in a small gas station in Lynwood [California] off of I-15," says lawyer Dan Chavez, a former PROPeace-nik who helped organize the new group. "A young man—maybe 17 years old—said that everyone in his class, which is made up of bilingual students, is pledging $10 a month to the march." Chavez's own father donated his Volvo trailer for a medical facility. Before leaving Las Vegas on April 14, the group secured, both through donations and fundraising, six trailers, a city bus, a refrigerator truck, a farm hay-bale hauler (to tow the port-a-johns), and a sewage pump truck worth over $13,000.

But the marchers' future is by no means secure. Donations of thousands of dollars a day must continue to come in to ensure their survival. And organizers have to overcome the lingering resentment and suspicion of some peace groups.

"The new organization has to deal with the ashes of PROPeace," says Jani Wanner, PROPeace's regional director in Cleveland, who now plans to help its successor get on its feet. "We call people and they say, 'we thought you folded—we thought the march *failed*.'"

But some good has come from the crisis, and surprisingly little bitterness. "I no longer have to swallow a lot of things that made me uncomfortable," says Wanner. "I don't work for Mixner anymore. I work for disarmament."

In fact, though many former PROPeace staffers and marchers offer candid criticisms of Mixner, and are suspicious and angry about his financial mismanagement, the majority offer a nod to the man for having the idea for the march in the first place. "We want to extend to David an invitation to march with us to D.C.," says Dan Chavez. "He created the dream, and we thank him for that."

THINGS FALL APART

In the weeks following the collapse of PROPeace, while Mixner, suffering from walking pneumonia (and a sprained ankle sustained while exiting from a PROPeace port-a-john) holed up in Los Angeles to cope with the venture's financial and legal fallout, former staffers talked about the trauma of being forced to give up the project that drove them to toil 70 hour weeks for a year. And they talked about the group's congenital flaws, which, in retrospect, had doomed the expedition from its inception.

These flaws, recited like a litany by both PROPeace staffers and marchers,

COURTESY OF THE GREAT PEACE MARCH FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, INC.

had been on the lips of the group's detractors for months: The organization was too hierarchical; Mixner was supposedly a delusional megalomaniac, or worse; PROPeace was rooted in glittery Hollywood "celebretics" instead of antinuclear politics; its goals were grandiose and unattainable; and the advance time of one year allotted for fundraising and the recruitment of 5000 marchers was ludicrously inadequate. Conspiracy theories flourished.

Many regret time futilely spent courting corporate patronage. "Mixner never seemed to understand the difference between a political campaign, where funders will be rewarded with power, and a 'cause' campaign where no promise of anything can be made," said one insider.

As the group's executive director and chief prophet, Mixner, a veteran organizer, had fueled his staff and marchers with a Gandhian vision of a nationwide epiphany for peace. "I need to emphasize as someone who was in a position of leadership that his vision was unbelievably compelling," says Torie Osborn, former communications director for the group. "We worked our asses off—in nine months, I had six days off."

Since PROPeace was definitely Mixner's show—"this is not a democracy" was reportedly one of his favorite phrases—and since he surrounded himself, for the most part, with loyal and idealistic employees, it was difficult to effectively temper his vision with reality checks, staffers say. And although there were some internal discussions about reorganization, in the end there wasn't time to plot the intrigue necessary for a palace revolt.

"There was one person making decisions," says Barbara Zheutlin, former education director for the group. "The books were not open. There wasn't much coordination between departments. And there was so much pressure to be a team player."

According to several sources, Mixner controlled his staff by placing people in positions that were slightly over their heads—and paying them handsomely while they learned on the job. Most PROPeace staffers knew little or nothing about antinuclear issues, according to one former worker. But their salaries—low by commercial standards, but high by the movement's—explain where a major chunk of the reported $4 million raised by the group went. At the organization's height, more than 100 people were earning between $1500 and $2300 per month, or nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

With its corporate-sized work force, its high-tech headquarters, its predeliction for self-congratulatory hype, and its commitment to a political agenda no more specific than "take the weapons down," the group could never garner enthusiastic support from the antinuclear movement, which did not always hide its hostility toward Mixner and his tactics. This hostility eventually found material expression: Most marchers were not able to raise the $3300 originally requested to cover their expenses. Grass-roots fundraising fell far short of initial expectations. And the bodies weren't there. By December, 1985, just 1000 people—4000 short of Mixner's target—had signed on.

It was only then, after resisting the pleas of his staff for months, that Mixner decided to "let go of that magic number of 5000 marchers that was just pulled out of the air," as one organizer put it. His concession, though, amounted to merely opening up 700 slots for part-time marchers.

The decision to cut the scope of the march was publicly announced in January, but the mechanism was already in place, and it was taking its toll. Provisions for 5000—tents, portable kitchens, and other support vehicles—had already been ordered, and impatient vendors were demanding down payments.

But Mixner's vision retained its power. In January, there was still considerable optimism, says Torie Osborn. "People were interested in movie and book rights to the march," she says. "Marchers were signing up. Money started picking up from the grass roots. We were getting good press. We had raised $3 million."

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Mixner: The finger pointing begins

But by early February, negotiations for a Los Angeles Coliseum concert with Sting had fallen through, and the PROPeace staffer handling the deal vanished from his job without a trace. (An estimated $50,000 had been spent to promote the send-off concert—including full page ads in the *Los Angeles Times*—before any acts had been confirmed.) That same month, while the group's legal staff was struggling to buy affordable insurance and secure permits for camp sites and march routes across the country, the PROPeace march staff gave up their apartments and moved to a training site.

And then, on February 15, 40 percent of the PROPeace staff did not get paid.

Some in PROPeace say that Mixner, banking on huge sums of money rolling in once the march started, felt that the staff and marchers did not need to know the extent of the group's financial duress. But Osborn insists that Mixner is blameless. "He said over and over again that we'd have to warn people," she says. "But the payroll had only been late once before. I didn't tell my staff. It didn't seem real."

But it was, both for Osborn and for most of the staff, including regional organizers across the country—most of whom saw their last paychecks in January, but who continued working anyway. And when long-overdue checks did arrive, the majority of them bounced.

"Financially, this has been a total nightmare for me," says Jani Wanner in Cleveland. "I haven't been this poor since I was 16 years old."

"PROPeace bankrupted me," says Roger Voelker, the group's state coordinator for Indiana and Michigan. He is now $1000 in debt, and unable to do vital volunteer work for the Freeze Campaign. Several other regional workers describe similar fates.

THE FINAL DAYS

On February 28, when Mixner announced that PROPeace did not have the funds to buy insurance, the medical team, along with the group's legal counsel, promptly resigned. Some marchers left. But many more stayed, and the group left Los Angeles, over 1000 strong, on March 1 as planned.

"It wasn't until that day, when I saw the small turnout at the send-off, that I had a hint that something was really wrong," says Osborn. "Just 6000 people showed up for a free concert." The rock group Mr. Mister was paid $50,000 for a one set performance.

The end came quickly. On February 28, PROPeace received $23,000 in contributions. During the group's last desperate week, it was netting barely $3000 a day.

"I was making proposals to stop the march and get the marchers home in a humane way—not to strand them in the desert," says Dan Chavez, who stepped in to replace the group's departed legal team. "Mixner kept saying that there are 3000 millionaires out there, and that it would only take one of them in the right mood to write us a check that would save us. He had a spiritual belief. He really expected this to happen."

On Wednesday, March 12, Mixner announced to his staff that they had 72

hours to raise the $100,000 needed to ensure the survival of the marchers on their desert trek to Las Vegas.

But only $25,000 from Paul Newman and a couple of smaller donations materialized. "On Friday morning, we all came in with the hope that Mixner had made the right call overnight," says Dan Chavez. "But he said instead that the march was over. People were shocked. Mixner had given up the dream. Everyone was quiet. There must've been a silence of four or five minutes in that room."

THE ROAD AHEAD

It seems clear that the demise of PROPeace is attributable more to one individual's organizational mismanagement —and Quixotic goals—than to a movement that has run out of steam. Still, some believe that the PROPeace saga should spark introspection.

"We were at our worst behavior," says Andrea Ayvazian, director of the Exchange Project for the Peace Development Fund. "We say in the antinuclear movement that an 'us-them' attitude is no good, but in our own movement we're critical and devisive. I was not a PROPeace supporter," Ayvazian continues. "I never gave them money. But I don't think anyone helped by attacking them from the start. Sure it failed—but it sure didn't get much help from the movement."

And others point out that PROPeace's spectacular failure to rouse support from mainstream America may be an indicator of where the movement currently stands. "We're definitely in an ebb," says author and historian Paul Boyer at the University of Wisconsin. "PROPeace was a high risk venture that got caught in that ebb."

Adds Michael Kazin, a history professor and writer at American University in Washington, D.C.: "The groundwork must be laid constantly. There's got to be a lot of organizing, a lot of false starts—all this is necessary for a movement to really break out. A lot of progressive work was done in the '50s, without which we never would've seen the '60s."

PROPeace could not deliver an enormous, legal, well-manicured, solar-showered, patriotic peace parade to "take the weapons down." But the new Great Peace March, with its modest desire to simply be a "sparkler," as one organizer put it, "to illuminate the antinuclear issue and hopefully strengthen local peace groups on our way," may be a part of some vital groundwork leading into the next decade. □

Donations may be sent to the Great Peace March, 29982 Ivy Glenn, Laguna Niguel, CA 92677 (714) 661-4245.

Ted Turner Has A Better Idea

BY CATHY CEVOLI

Using the power of television to attack the arms race has long been a dream of political activists. That a major communications empire might actually help them out may still seem like a pipe dream. Enter Ted Turner, owner of the largest U.S. cable network, and one of the antinuclear movement's most influential allies.

Among Turner's recent peace-related initiatives is the Better World Society (BWS), a nonprofit organization created to produce and acquire programming on arms control, population and the environment. As co-founder and chairman, Turner has provided BWS with seed money, office space and, most important, free air time on "superstation" WTBS, which penetrates 36 million households. "WTBS reaches people who usually watch professional wrestling and John Wayne movies," says Stephen Coleman, director of program development. "We get to reach this mass audience free."

After initial efforts that were closer to standard public television fare, BWS is now making a dramatic move into advocacy programming. A new documentary, *Women—For America, For The World*, to air May 19 at 10:30 p.m. EDT, presents interviews with leading women working for disarmament. *A Step Toward Reason* originally produced by the Center for Defense Information, and narrated by Paul Newman, promotes a comprehensive test ban; it will air June 2. *The First 50 Years*, airing June 18, traces U.S.–Soviet diplomatic relations.

BWS consulted with arms controllers and movement representatives to update the films and select the activities that will be recommended in on-air "tags." After the test ban film, for instance, viewers will be given an 800 number to call for an action guide, and urged to write their senators and ask them to pressure the White House to stop tests.

National organizations committed to publicizing the series to their members include a long list of peace groups, the United Food and Commercial Workers, Church Women United and the American Nursing Association. BWS hopes these groups will go further by organizing viewing parties aimed at reaching the unconverted.

Meanwhile, Turner's much–publicized Goodwill Games will bring 3500 Soviet, American and other athletes together in Moscow from July 5 to July 20 in a landmark media blitz and business venture. U.S. viewers who tune in hoping to see the Red Bear get pummeled will be treated to several interruptions on this theme. These include the introduction of the winners of a U.S.–Soviet youth poster contest, a tribute to the late Samantha Smith, and highlights of the tour of the Goodwill Ambassadors. □

WRAP-UP

Senator Bill Bradley appears to be moving steadily to the right, perhaps to position himself for a 1988 presidential try. In the past year he has voted *for* contra aid, and *against* reduced Star Wars funding, an ASAT test moratorium, a military spending freeze and barring the use of nuclear material in SDI . . . Wonder whatever happened to the **White Train** protests? Answer: There hasn't been a shipment of nuclear weapons to Bangor, Washington in over a year . . . A **Union of Concerned Scientists** (UCS) report, "In Search of Stability," released in April declares that the United States is swiftly moving towards a "first strike" capability. UCS comes out strongly against development of the Trident II, and calls for further scrutiny of sea-launched cruise missiles and the Stealth bomber, but backs Midgetman . . . First slide show created by the **Lyndon LaRouche** crowd for their political candidates this year is entitled "AIDS is Deadlier Than Nuclear War" . . .*Defense Week* recently reported that, using the space shuttle and other available rockets, it would take 58 years and $87 billion to lift into space all of the weaponry currently part of **Star Wars** designs . . . **The Committee for National Security** has launched a major project to publish "The Kremlin and Beyond," a 12-part series of educational packets on the Soviet Union . . . Opposition to the Air Force's huge **Ground Wave Emergency Network** (GWEN) towers is growing, with protests from Sherman (ME) and Gettysburg (PA) to Flagstaff (AZ) and Eugene (OR) . . . Activists claimed victory following press reports that the Department of Energy had informed Nevada Congressman Harry Reid that the presence of protesters at **the Nevada Test Site** was a contributing factor in the delay of the April 8 nuclear test. DOE had publicly denied any connection. An unprecedented 82 protesters were arrested at the front gate and one group of Greenpeace trespassers avoided capture on the test site for four days. . .

Rambo vs. The Preacher

Pennsylvania hosts key '86 election race

BY M.B. CHRISTIE

The Pennsylvania media has dubbed the state's Senate Democratic race "Rambo vs. the Preacher." Peace groups see it as a straight good guy/bad guy contest, and predict that the results on primary day, May 20, will serve as this spring's litmus test of movement strength. The "good guy," in their view, is Bob Edgar, a Methodist minister who has served six terms in the U.S. House of Representatives and is now eyeing Arlen Specter's seat in the Senate. The "bad guy" is State Auditor Don Bailey, nick-named "Rambo" for his continuing defense of the Vietnam War.

The Democratic Party needs to win four GOP seats to gain control of the Senate, but should conservative Democrats like Bailey take those seats, arms control victories may be minimal, peace PAC leaders warn. "It's a bellwether election," says Chip Reynolds, Freeze Voter's executive director.

The race is expected to be close—"I'm nervous as hell about the outcome," admits one national peace PAC leader—and expensive, with television coverage vital for success in this sprawling state. Edgar's strength lies in the Philadelphia area and Bailey's in western Pennsylvania, leaving them to battle over the remaining 25 to 30 percent of the electorate in the state's central region. Bailey has the advantage of holding both a statewide office and the endorsement of Pennsylvania's Democratic Committee, but Edgar has raised about twice as much money and surprised pro-labor Bailey by winning endorsements from the AFL-CIO and the United Steelworkers of America.

Both candidates must overcome weak statewide name recognition, and the winner will then have to challenge Pennsylvania's 24-year history of electing Republican senators in order to defeat the incumbent this fall. But Edgar has proven six times that a progressive Democrat can win in his indisputably Republican congressional district. Peace groups are now predicting that he can win in a Republican state as well.

Over the past 12 years, Edgar has amassed one of the most liberal voting records in Congress. "Edgar is always a leader on arms control," says Chris Magoc, an organizer for Pennsylvania Freeze Voter, "really aggressive and articulate." He supports the freeze and objects to SDI and the MX missile.

Will Edgar pass "litmus test"?

Bailey's voting record during his two terms in Congress (1979-1983) can best be summarized as conservative on social issues and hawkish on defense. He voted in favor of building the MX missile, nerve gas production, the B–1 bomber and neutron weapons. He supported research and development funding for SDI and voted against the nuclear freeze.

Edgar has raised $1 million for the primary with the help of national peace, environmental and labor groups. Peace PACS are important to Edgar because "they are running the grass-roots campaign," says Anita Dunn, Edgar's press secretary. "The enthusiasm and commitment that these activists bring to the campaign cannot be measured in dollars."

The peace movement is present in all aspects of Edgar's campaign, from knocking on doors to organizing major donor events. But each PAC is focusing on a particular strategy.

The Council for a Livable World is one of Edgar's top funders. It has contributed over $60,000 to his primary race, raised mainly through mailings to its 100,000 members.

Freeze Voter's primary tasks lie in mobilizing arms control activists, and raising $5000 for Edgar through canvassing, mailings and fundraising events. It hopes to have 750 part–time Edgar workers in place as the election nears. (Five full–time Freeze Corps volunteers are now based in the state.) The Freeze effort cuts across state lines. Individuals in the southern California peace community, for example, helped organize several fundraisers which netted Edgar $20,000.

SANE has contributed its limit of $5000 in direct and in-kind aid to Edgar, but its 15,000 Pennsylvania members—most based near Philadelphia—are busy ringing doorbells, making phone calls, and arranging house parties to support Edgar's campaign. Fifteen SANE canvassers will work full-time to get-out-the-vote for Edgar in the closing days of the

Running With The PACs

While PACs happily endorse candidates, raise and distribute funds and funnel scores of volunteers to campaigns, what can organizations barred from partisan electoral activities do to engage the public, the media and the candidates?

The Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control in Washington, D.C., hopes to answer this question by providing resources and guides to local chapters of its member organizations (Physicians for Social Responsibility, Union of Concerned Scientists, Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, and Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility) and other nonpartisan groups. Through a series of candidate briefings, public hearings, and meetings with the editorial boards of newspapers, professional groups hope to shape policy positions, influence the course of debate, and make arms control a top campaign issue in the coming months.

The Coalition is offering the following resources for use in electoral work:

- *Professionals' Coalition Guide to Arms Control and the '86 Elections* (10 pp. $2).
- *Candidate Briefing Book* (80 pp., $25).

The resources listed below are free of charge:

- *1985 Congressional Voting Records*
- *Suggested Arms Control Questions For Congressional Candidates*
- *Guidelines For Candidates and Media Briefings in the '86 Elections*

Contact the Professionals' Coalition at 1616 P St. NW, Ste 320, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 332-4823. **—Gregory Tobias**

campaign. WAND is providing volunteers through its chapters in Allentown and Pittsburgh. Helen Caldicott, WAND's founder, raised $8500 at two fundraisers held in April.

Edgar's arms control record may be the motivating factor for peace movement involvement, but more voters are being won over by his stance on the economy, organizers say. (His rallying cry for the primary is "Jobs, Jobs, Jobs.") With this in mind, Freeze Voter has introduced a new strategy in western Pennsylvania—it's pulling volunteers from the ranks of unemployed steel workers to help with voter identification and contact. Freeze Voter wants to tap those workers who may not have detailed knowledge of the arms race but who know (like characters from a Springsteen song) that Reagan's defense spending spree has hurt Pennsylvania's economy. "What good does it do to defend our borders if the heart of our country is dying?" asks Mike Stout, chairman of the Grievance Committee of the U.S. Steel Works in Homestead, Pennsylvania, and an Edgar supporter.

Edgar, in an interview with NUCLEAR TIMES, said he has no problem mixing labor and peace groups' concerns in his campaign because both constituencies understand the nonsense and expense of Reagan's defense policy. "I am not ignoring the issue of arms control," said Edgar. "I educate every audience, telling them about the $1.7 trillion Reagan has requested for defense over the past five years, discuss it in relation to what we have to give up, then talk about a nuclear freeze being an important first step in halting the arms race.

"We cannot have both high defense and domestic spending," said Edgar. "The problem," he added, "is that the hawks never answer how much is enough, and the doves don't learn enough about arms control to confront the issue."

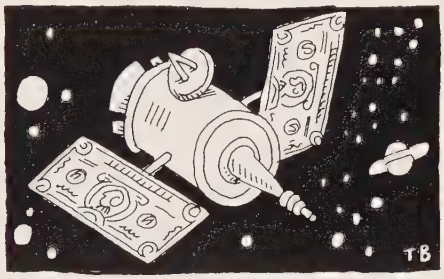
The implications of an Edgar victory will be important for the peace community, PAC leaders declare. "If he wins he'll owe a lot of his success to us," says Council for a Livable World Peace PAC director Martin Hamburger, "and would give all of our future mailings for other candidates a boost."

More than that, adds Chip Reynolds, it would positively reinforce Edgar and other candidates. An Edgar win, he says, would show that "candidates who take an unabashed stand on arms control *can* be winners. If that happens, I don't give a damn what play Freeze Voter gets as a group." And if Edgar loses? "Hey, we'll lick our wounds and analyze what went wrong," Reynolds says.

One PAC leader, who did not wish to be named, pointed out, however, that win or lose "the jury is still out on whether the peace community is capable of sustaining the effort, discipline and commitment over the long haul." □

STAR STRUCK

Star Wars, the concept, is still a naïve proposal, easily portrayed by an animated crayon drawing. But Star Wars, the bureaucracy—a.k.a. the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO)—is well into its third fiscal year and is proceeding to throw money at a dizzying variety of projects. With requests for FY '87 now before Congress, Washington-based antinuclear activists



TOM BLOOM

are taking a close look at what projects SDIO is funding as they gear up for a replay of last year's budget battle.

The big surprise is that 49 percent of the FY '87 budget request, or $2.36 billion, will be allocated for project demonstrations. Why the heavy spending on demos when SDI is still in the basic research stage? "It means that they are trying to *sell* the program," says Kathleen Hancock, legislative liaison staffer for the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), who spends much of her time studying the SDI budget line–by–line in her chart-filled office. The $2.36 billion request figure for demonstrations more than doubles the allocation in the FY '86 budget, according to Hancock's breakdown.

Major David Rigby, an SDIO press officer, declines to comment on the percentage of the budget spent on demonstrations, saying SDIO was only accused of "grandstanding" because it is such an open program. Rigby points with pride to past demos: the "hitting a bullet with a bullet" missile intercept display, and the destruction last September of a stationary Titan missile by a chemical laser. And he mentioned this year's plan to shoot the same laser at a missile in flight.

"It is a little hype," says Howard Ris, Union of Concerned Scientists' executive director. SDIO used old technology to destroy a Titan missile that was pressurized from within, so it was primed to explode, Ris points out. He calls SDIO demos "sales stunts to convince Congress."

The emphasis of this year's budget request on demonstrations means more SDIO grandstanding in 1987, says FAS's Hancock. The largest request for demonstrations, she reports, is $1 billion earmarked for three directed energy weapon programs: the chemical laser (dubbed MIRACL), X-ray laser tests, and ground based laser work.

MIRACL is far less promising than the free-electron laser which is being researched at Lawrence Livermore, lobbyists contend, but SDIO needs the chemical laser for show. "The only purpose of the program is fancy footage for the nightly news—it will never be converted into a weapon," says an aide to Representative George Brown Jr., who recently called for the establishment of an independent scientific oversight panel to monitor SDIO.

Thus far, Congress has not chosen to cut monies allocated for demonstrations. Although it has the authority to consider the budget in specific program areas, it has opted instead to consider the overall SDI budget request, which weighs in at about $4.8 billion for 1987, as a single item. This makes it easier for SDIO to pad its budget, and Hill insiders say that past cuts in the overall allocation did not have much of an effect on SDIO's plans because they only eliminated fluff.

"In many ways this year will be a replay of last year," says Brown's aide, referring to the budget battle. He predicts a cut from the requested $4.8 billion to $3.3 billion. With members wary of attacking Reagan's abolitionist vision head-on, they will attack SDIO on management and budget priority issues instead.

The need to impress the public, the press and Congress is reflected by SDI acronyms like "MIRACL" and, as a general term for demonstrations, "STAR" (Significant Technical Achievement in Research). "STAR" was changed recently to "STM" (Significant Technical Milestone) when managers realized that, as a publicity ploy, "STAR" was just *too* obvious, Hancock reports.

But SDIO has so far produced no bright stars or miracles. And analysts say that SDI will never develop into an ABM shield, but into offensive weapons. They point to a revealing comment made in March by Kent Stansberry, the acting director for SDI policy at the office of the Secretary of Defense. "Defenses against ballistic missiles are gangbuster ASATs [antisatellite weapons]," Stansberry told an American Association for the Advancement of Science seminar audience in Washington, D.C. **—Douglas Lavin**

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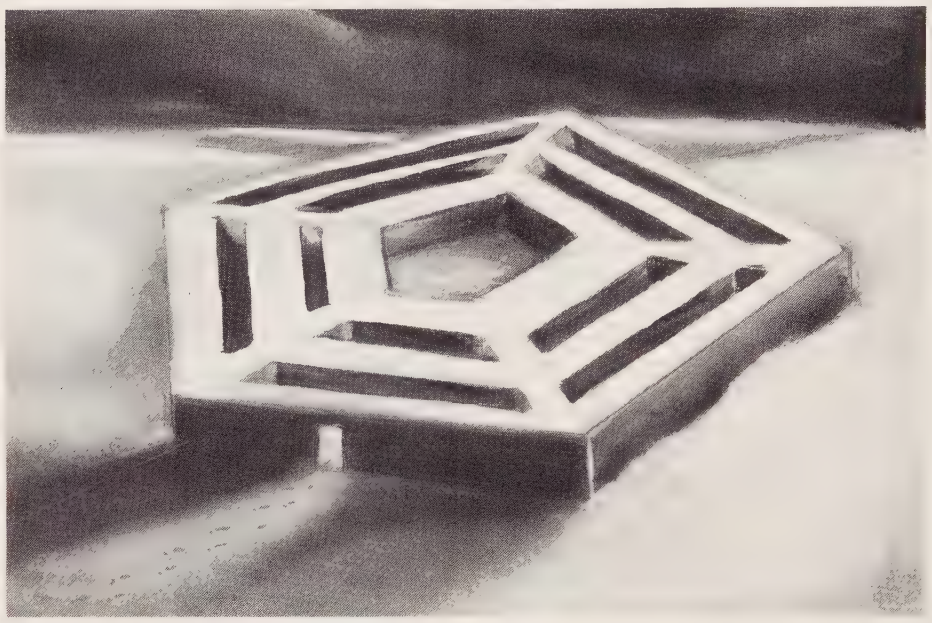
Strategists Evade Nuclear Winter

Scientific studies have not yet led to changes in policy

BY SUSAN SUBAK



"The Pentagon has stolen nuclear winter," charged Senator William Proxmire last year when officials from the Department of Defense argued that the threat of a climatic catastrophe justifies weapons modernization and strategic defense. Congress gave the first Pentagon paper an "incomplete" and demanded a more comprehensive look at nuclear strategy, arms control, and civil defense that would take into account the implications of nuclear winter.

This year's Pentagon report, the effort of an interagency task force, is stirring up a new controversy with its conclusion that the nuclear winter theory is too undeveloped to justify policy changes. Critics term this call for further study the "acid rain approach." In the more than two years since the so-called "TTAPS" study popularized the nuclear winter concept, government and independent analysts alike have produced surprisingly few studies of its possible impact on policy.

At a recent conference, "Nuclear Winter: Strategic and Diplomatic Implications," in Blacksburg, Virginia, two dozen scientists and government officials reached no agreement on what those implications might be. "Nuclear winter is a cumbersome policy tool that doesn't necessarily lead to a policy direction," said Richard Davis, a State Department representative.

ON TARGETS

One policy recommendation, as originally outlined by Carl Sagan, holds that the superpowers' arsenals should be drastically reduced because an exchange of only 500 to 2000 strategic warheads would have such grave environmental consequences that the war would be suicidal for the aggressor. In its just-completed report, however, the Pentagon is arguing that new research reveals that an attack against missile silos would most likely *not* trigger an environmental catastrophe.

In an interview with NUCLEAR TIMES, one of the report's authors, Colonel Terry Hawkins, said that studies conducted by Dr. Michael MacCracken, co-project leader of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's study of environmental consequences of nuclear war, indicate that a counterforce attack may affect the global climate less than the eruption of Indonesia's Mt. Tambora in 1812. Even a major nuclear exchange against cities would not bring on a long winter, according to MacCracken. If the attack occurred in summer, the temperature would drop to about zero for a few weeks and then increase gradually.

This forecast of a more benign nuclear winter, however, may not be cause for comfort. Mark Harwell, the associate director of the Ecosystems Research Center at Cornell University, for example, holds that even MacCracken's scenario suggests worldwide famine. "With a 2½°C drop [in average temperature], no wheat will grow in Canada," Harwell observes.

And the MacCracken model, charges Dr. Alan Robock, a meteorologist at the University of Maryland, has never been presented for peer review. "But we do know that his model uses only two altitude levels," Robock says, "whereas the more sophisticated models use 19 or 20."

The question of the environmental consequences of a counterforce attack hinges largely upon the question of what constitutes such an attack. "Strikes on missile silos don't generate nearly as much smoke as do attacks on cities," Robock says. "However, it is hard to imagine a counterforce attack that doesn't also target military and communication centers, and these are located in cities." According to a recent study by three Princeton researchers—Frank von Hippel, Barbara Levi and William Daugherty—counterforce attacks would be "more militarily comprehensive" than earlier assumed.

Nevertheless, the Pentagon probers feel that "the model is no longer nuclear winter, but nuclear autumn or nuclear spring," Colonel Hawkins disclosed. When asked whether the Pentagon would recommend policy changes, he said: "Until we get a handle on the situation it would be premature to do something."

FIRST FROST

Colonel Hawkins' recommendation for further study is at odds with some voices in the Administration. Richard Perle, assistant secretary of defense, and Fred Iklé, undersecretary of defense, have embraced the Sagan model more warmly. But they argue that the threat of nuclear winter confirms the wisdom of the current weapons modernization program—highly accurate, lower-yield missiles would not create as much post-attack

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smoke as the current arsenal—and the need to develop a space-based defense.

"Nuclear winter can be used to grind every axe," George Rathjens, a political scientist at M.I.T., believes. He points out that the theory could be utilized by disarmament activists, SDI proponents, or even used to argue that missiles should be deployed near cities in order to intensify the threat of mutual assured destruction. Rathjens appears to feel that nuclear war is already bad enough, and that nuclear winter is just, as he says, "frosting on unmitigated catastrophe."

While the majority of policymakers suggest that the threat of nuclear winter can only enhance deterrence on both sides, some argue that the opposite may be true. Dr. Leon Gaure, director of the Center for Soviet Studies at the Science Applications International Corporation in McLean, Virginia, holds that the concept of a nuclear winter threshold may lead an aggressor to deliberately attack just *below* the threshold, in the hope of deterring retaliation.

But Theodore Postol, a physicist and science fellow at the Center for International Security and Arms Control at Stanford University, disagrees. A former assistant for weapons technology at the Pentagon, Postol feels that the nuclear winter theory does not alter the deterrent relationship. Even without nuclear winter, he points out, a massive city attack by one side is suicidal, since it would prompt a massive counterattack. But he does worry that clouds of smoke may degrade the functioning of early warning and reconnaissance systems (meaning escalation could not be "controlled").

And there are still passionate supporters of the view that nuclear winter demolishes any hope of waging a limited nuclear war. "Nuclear winter theory makes 98 percent of the Pentagon's nuclear strategy appear illogical," says Jacob Scherr, director of the Center for the Study of the Consequences of Nuclear War, a clearinghouse located in Washington, D.C. "Everyone is fitting the nuclear winter model into their existing model of nuclear war," said Scherr. "Unfortunately our thinking on nuclear weapons is grounded in a pre-nuclear past."

Scherr acknowledges, however, that for the first time since the invention of the A-bomb, the U.S. government is taking a close look at the subject. Congress held its first hearings ever on the consequences of nuclear war in the summer of 1984 and in the following year passed a resolution calling for a joint study by the Soviet Union and the United States. Meetings between U.S. and Soviet scientists have already taken place in the Soviet Union. "It's clear that they [the Soviets] understand the model," says Alan Hecht, co-chairman of the climate working group under the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Environmental Committee.

FORECAST: CLOUDY

Most of the attention of the research community continues to focus on the scientific questions, not the policy implications, of the nuclear winter model. The Department of Defense is starting a program to fund nuclear research at 10 universities. The academics will examine such problems as the amount of combustible material in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, and smoke plume and atmospheric dynamics.

Most of the $50 million, five-year allotment, however, will be directed to the Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA), the Department of Energy, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. DNA is undertaking a project to monitor forest fires. Late this summer it will monitor the smoke cloud over a large, controlled brush fire near Los Angeles.

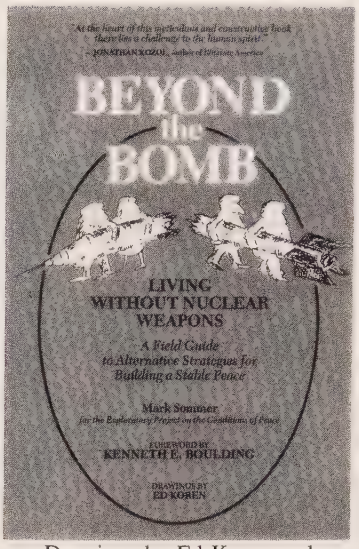
What policy changes might ever come of these experiments can only be conjectured. Even Colonel Hawkins, the proponent of "further study," has his doubts. "Of course we will never really know the effects of a nuclear war," he believes, "unless we have one." □

Extended Deterrence

Deterrence as practiced by major powers is most commonly deterrence of an attack on an ally or a friendly neutral and it is a more "precarious and demanding task than that of deterring a frontal attack on oneself," says Bruce Russett at Yale University. Russett, who has studied "extended deterrence" for more than two decades, is currently working with Yale colleague Paul Huth on a study to be published next year. It evaluates 60 case histories of attempts at extended deterrence in order to isolate the factors that led to success or failure.

System Support

The Pentagon is planning to fund its own research center to study the Strategic Defense Initiative. Pentagon officials envision a Star Wars version of the Rand Corporation, which would conduct systems analysis in support of SDI. The proposal for the high-technology center, which would be provided with at least $30 million annually, has stirred up strong opposition from SDI contractors as well as SDI critics. □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Command Out Of Control?

Working Profile: Bruce Blair

BY BOB GULDIN

Strategic command and control, Bruce Blair admits, is a subject few people really warm up to. The system of military organization and communication, from the president's "button" and "hotline" down to ground-based command posts and radio transmitters, has no powerful constituency. But according to Blair, a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution and one of the foremost experts on the subject, the improvement of the nation's command, control, communication, and intelligence (C^3I) is essential, for C^3I is so vulnerable that a "launch-on-warning" policy now appears to be in place.

While the state of the nation's C^3I has not attracted a great deal of Pentagon attention, says Blair, his own alarming evaluation of the system most certainly has. Last year, after the Brookings Institution published his book *Strategic Command and Control*, Blair completed a classified study for the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), a non-partisan research arm of Congress. According to a recent *Wall Street Journal* article, some readers of Blair's report grew "frightened" by its implications. One OTA advisory board member reportedly commented: "This is the single most dangerous document I've ever seen."

Bruce Blair

The Pentagon quickly destroyed copies of the report—by incineration, not by shredding—and slapped a super-secret classification on it so that neither the author nor the members of Congress who commissioned the study could see it. Soon after, Blair went to the Defense Communications Agency, which supervises command systems for the Pentagon. Perhaps because of the controversy surrounding his OTA study, Blair (who served in the 1970s as a launch officer for Minuteman missiles in Montana) found that he couldn't get special security clearances, and soon left.

Currently working on a book on command and control for Cornell University, Blair insists that the OTA matter is not finished. "They shouldn't be able to get away with excluding members of Congress from reading the report," says Blair. Congressional and Pentagon officials say that this is the first incident in which a report prepared by an arm of Congress has been classified so that members of Congress are not entitled to see it.

After talking with Blair at his home in Washington, D.C., or reading his unclassified work, it's easy to see why his ideas make the Pentagon nervous. According to Blair, while the military has been busy hardening missile silos and hiding missiles in submarines, the nation's network of communication satellites, sea and airborne command posts, and radio transmitters have remained in relatively "soft bases."

These systems, called "command nodes," have several weaknesses, says Blair. First, America's 450 command nodes could be easily overpowered by the Soviets' 10,000 warheads. Second, "the short endurance and rudimentary design of our control system makes controlled nuclear war impossible," he says.

Blair emphasizes that he is advocating a capability to survive a first strike, not a protracted war-fighting capability. Because our control system is vulnerable, the United States can't afford to "ride out" a first strike, Blair contends. Our command system is biased toward rapid response while the system is still intact. According to Blair, the U.S. National Command Authority—contrary to common belief and government denials—does in fact operate on a dangerous launch-on-warning mode.

Blair outlines several approaches to alleviate crisis instability. He recommends an ASAT ban in order to make surveillance and communications satellites, vital C^3I components, more secure. He argues that the superpowers should remove missiles from near each other's territories to increase stability by lessening the threat of short-warning attacks. Blair also advocates adding ground command centers, hardening C^3I facilities, and improving sensor and radio links so that they can detect Soviet cruise missiles. These improvements, says Blair, "would enhance deterrence." They would, however, cost $30 to $50 billion, a 200 percent increase above the current five-year budget for C^3I. Blair is not expecting a great deal of support. "Because C^3I effectiveness is hard to measure and doesn't provide large production contracts," he says, "Congress often ignores the issue." Also C^3I is often passed over in the Pentagon budget requests, says Blair, "because it cuts across the lines between the services and strengthens civilian control."

Blair also proposes an important policy change in the U.S. nuclear stance, away from launch-on-warning. The posture Blair prefers, which he calls "no-first-use, no-immediate-second-use," would allow the United States, with a secure C^3I, to ride out a real or threatened first strike, assess the situation, and respond hours or days later.

"A lot of the groundwork for this concept has already been laid," explains Blair. "Back in the 1960s, McNamara and others created this myth that we could design a command system and force posture that would allow us to ride out the maximum attack and respond deliberately. That was a myth," Blair says, "but he made the case. And people, Congress, academia, accepted it. They even believed it, they thought that's what we had. And I'm saying, well, let's have it." □

Not in the Gulf

Even if it wanted to, it's not likely that the Soviet Union could ever take over the Persian Gulf, concludes Joshua Epstein, a research associate at the Brookings Institution. According to his study, which is due to be published at the end of the year, "the logistical problems would be extreme," so the light divisions that the United States deploys in the region would be put to better use if redeployed in Western Europe.

Arch Angel

Joan Kroc, widow of Ray Kroc, the founder of McDonald's restaurants, describes herself as a "Joanie-come-lately" to the nuclear arms field. But she is rapidly making up for lost time. Kroc recently gave Notre Dame University $6 million to establish an Institute for Peace Studies. Notre Dame is planning to use the money, which represents one of the largest personal gifts ever received by the university, to develop a multidisciplinary research program to explore the relationships between human rights, justice and peace; to develop a series of lectures and conferences; and to provide peace fellowships for young scholars from the United States, China and the Soviet Union. □

The CIA Goes To College

Interest in political scholarship grows

By Philip Laurence And Tracey Dewart

A scandal, a flourish of publicity and policy reappraisals, a forlorn glimpse at the dangers of accepting CIA sponsorship for academic research and conference planning: such was the pattern of a recent controversy at Harvard over an article entitled "Dead Dictators and Rioting Mobs" written by Richard Betts, a visiting professor of government at Harvard, and Samuel Huntington, director of Harvard's Center for International Affairs.

The article, which determines from 22 case studies that "American interests will generally be best served if longstanding dictators die in bed, soon," was published in the Winter 1985/86 issue of the Center's journal, *International Security*. There were no acknowledgements that it was in fact an abridged version of a Central Intelligence Agency-financed project, nor that the CIA was given the authority to review and censor Betts'and Huntington's work.

Stephen Van Evera, managing editor of *International Security*, states that the staff knew that the article was subject to censorship by the CIA, but decided to go ahead and publish it anyway. But he adds that *International Security* is now considering changing its policy so that future articles would include identification of the funding source. In Van Evera's view, the CIA is rather "muzzled and moderate." He feels that "the more important money that is now shaping the foreign and defense debate comes from the right-wing foundations."

William Hyland, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, does not recall having published articles that he knew were directly financed by the CIA, but confirms that "we do publish articles by people who worked for the CIA. Both the previous editor and myself worked for the agency."

Foreign Policy informs their readers if an article was funded by a government contract, says Alan Tonelson, associate editor. "The extent of the reliance of academics on government contracts to support research is troubling," Tonelson adds. "Money talks." He, too, cannot recall publishing articles that he knew were CIA-sponsored.

The growing intensity of CIA interest in academia is shown by the fact that the number of CIA-sponsored conferences held with academics has risen from three or four a year in 1982 to some 75 today.

Prof. Huntington is excused

JIGGERING ESTIMATES?

The disclosure of the sponsorship of "Dead Dictators . . ." echoed an earlier controversy when Nadav Safran, director of Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies and a member of the government department, was revealed to have failed to disclose that a CIA grant supported a campus conference he organized last autumn. He was found, in addition, to have accepted CIA funds to help finance a book about Saudi Arabia in a contract which allowed the agency the right to review and censor his work and prohibit him from disclosing its support to his publisher.

Although Harvard has no rules forbidding research or conferences undertaken with government agency funds, it does require faculty members to report all corporate and government funds to the university as well as decline any proposal at an institutional level that could curtail academic freedom. Unlike Professor Safran, who has agreed to resign his directorship of the Middle Eastern Center while retaining his tenured professorship, Professor Huntington has been exonerated by the university. Administrators ruled that although Huntington subcontracted a Harvard graduate student, Robert Beschel, who spent some 300 hours on the project using university facilities, he did not involve Harvard significantly in his research.

The policy at many universities, such as MIT, Columbia, and Georgetown, is very much in line with that of Harvard. But according to a CIA report, "the great majority of schools" have rejected guidelines, "usually on the grounds that existing regulations or practices were adequate to protect both the institution and individuals."

Some academics fear that CIA funding will lead to stilted political conclusions of international consequence. An example of this occurred when intelligence officials announced that John R. Horton, senior Latin American analyst for the CIA, resigned in May 1984 after William J. Casey, director of the agency, insisted he alter his report on Mexico to support the Reagan Administration's policy. "There is pressure from Casey on subjects that are politically sensitive to jigger estimates to conform with policy," Horton asserted.

To what extent "jiggering" of this type may affect research funded by the agency is a matter of some concern in the academic world. The CIA in 1976 made a promise to Congress not to covertly sponsor publication of books in this country. But President Reagan in 1981 enacted an executive order which, for the first time, authorized the CIA to conduct covert activity inside the United States, including the infiltration of organizations and the exercising of secret surveillance for the purposes of "foreign intelligence" gathering.

While universities are seeking to tighten their restrictions, the CIA is apparently loosening its own, anxious to increase and strengthen its ties with academic experts, and to improve its appearance. A CIA spokesperson told NUCLEAR TIMES: "CIA will henceforth permit acknowledgment of our funding of research that is independently published by scholars, unless the scholar requires privacy or we determine that normal public association of CIA with a specific topic or subject will prove damaging to the United States."

Robert Gates, the deputy director of intelligence, says that the new use of scholars resulted from past intelligence failures. Faulty predictions, for example, in the 1970s about the Shah of Iran could, he argues, be traced to a "U.S. government perspective" that failed to consider in "any official assessment the view held by some scholars that the Shah was in trouble."

The agency is increasingly bringing in scholars from the academic community to review drafts of CIA studies. Gates puts the case in these terms: "We are looking for people to criticize our

assessments constructively. . . . In short, we don't want scholars to tell us what they think we want to hear. That would make our entire effort pointless." The true nature of that effort is finally the crux of the debate. □

Sub Survivability

Tom Stefanick is winding up his work on anti-submarine warfare detection technology for the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. In his report, which is due to be published by Lexington Books in September, he concludes that U.S. submarines are "so survivable that it isn't an interesting question." But Soviet subs, "because they are noisier and more geographically confined, are likely initial targets in a conventional war." Stefanick predicts, however, that Soviet underwater vulnerability "will diminish greatly within 15 years."

Hot Suppliers

At least 11 countries are trying to elbow into the nuclear export market, according to William Potter, at UCLA's Center for International and Strategic Affairs, and most of them are not party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. With the assistance of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory nuclear proliferation experts, nuclear engineering firms, and an international group of advisors, Potter is putting together the first computer-based filing system of the emerging suppliers' nuclear capabilities, export agreements, and attitudes towards proliferation. "Previous research has looked at exports in terms of the national level," says Potter. "We will be looking at individual firms and their exports." His project will serve as a clearinghouse for scholars in the proliferation field. Potter plans to publish his case studies of the 11 selected countries in the spring of 1987.

Nuclear Terrorism

The International Task Force on Prevention of Nuclear Terrorism, with members from nine countries, will publish its first report in early June. The report will cover such topics as behavioral incentives for nuclear terrorism, physical security of nuclear facilities and shipments, and opportunities for joint efforts with the Soviet Union on counter-terrorism. The Task Force, which includes 26 specialists in areas such as nuclear weapons design, nuclear proliferation, and terrorism and intelligence, holds that the danger of nuclear terrorism is increasing due to the growing trade in weapons-grade plutonium for use in nuclear reactors, and inadequate security at storage depots and weapons plants. Heading the Task Force is Rear Admiral Thomas Davies, retired, former assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Bernard O'Keefe, chairman of EG&G, Inc., a company that has developed and tested nuclear weapons. The task force is a project of the Nuclear Control Institute in Washington, D.C.

Peace Graduates

The first masters degrees in conflict management to be awarded in the United States were recently received by 12 students at the Center for Conflict Resolution at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. □

Research Aids

ARTICLES

SDI and Europe: Militarization or Common Security? by Michael Lucas (*World Policy Journal*, Spring 1986). Lucas argues that although the United States succeeded in selling the Star Wars research program to European allies with the offer of funding contracts and the promise of profitable technological spinoffs, in fact the program could be detrimental to the economies of the West. Military disengagement, a deepened detente, and the development of the European Research and Coordinating Agency (EUREKA), which is designed to accelerate European cooperation on high-tech research and development are, Lucas says, "pillars of common security" and important counterweights to SDI.

Arms Control or Arms Coercion? by William H. Kincade (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1986). The history of the arms race, according to Kincade, is marked by a series of attempts to coerce the other side into restraint and concessions. But compellent threats, which pledge harm on the other party until it makes a desired change, have always failed. Nonetheless, the United States is again assuming a coercive role, this time by threatening to develop the Strategic Defense Initiative. The only way out, writes Kincade, is for the United States to take part in hard-nosed but serious arms negotiations before SDI's shortcomings become irrefutable.

BOOKS

Blocking the Spread of Nuclear Weapons: American and European Perspectives, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (153 pp., $6.95). An American panel of diplomats and experts chaired by Ambassador Gerard Smith, and a similarly distinguished European panel headed by Johan Jorgen Holst, director of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, publish their separate but similar perspectives on approaches to non-proliferation. Both panels recommend a region-by-region approach. They offer measured support for the U.S.-China agreement on nuclear cooperation, but urge that major resources be invested to prevent such states as South Africa from acquiring nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Ethics, by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (The Free Press, 162 pp., $14.95). Nye, who has studied moral philosophy at Oxford University and is now the well-known director at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, holds that nuclear deterrence is moral, but only conditionally. He proposes five maxims of nuclear ethics: Self defense is a just but limited pursuit; never treat nuclear weapons as normal weapons; minimize harm to innocent people; reduce risks of nuclear war in the near-term; and reduce reliance on nuclear weapons over time.

REPORTS

Uncle Sam Goes to School, commissioned by the American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (6 pp., $1). More than 230 state, private and religious colleges and universities across the country have received Pentagon-sponsored contracts, according to the research program of the AFSC. Johns Hopkins University received $272 million, the largest slice of the $1.06 billion pie spent in 1984.

Nuclear Weapons Databook Working Papers: Known U.S. Nuclear Tests July 1945 to 31 December 1985, by Robert Norris, Thomas Cochran and William Arkin, and **Known Soviet Nuclear Explosions, 1949–1985,** by Jeffrey Sands, Robert Norris, and Thomas Cochran. (Commissioned by the Natural Resources Defense Council, 1350 New York Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005 202-783-7800; $5 per paper.) The most comprehensive studies to date on U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons testing. Includes data about the frequency, yield and location of superpower weapons tests. They reveal that the superpowers have detonated about a ton of TNT for every man, woman and child living in the United States and the Soviet Union. □

GREG RAGLAND

Security. It's a word in the air almost everywhere this spring. Les Aspin and Lester Brown, Jobs with Peace and the AFL-CIO—nearly everyone's talking about national security, and they're talking about it in new ways. Some are suggesting simply reexamining national security; others want to redefine it entirely. Many call for achieving Real Security, implying that the national security we have now is not real. On this subject groups as diverse as SANE and Business Executives for National Security (BENS) agree. "Real security doesn't flow from unlimited military strength," asserts SANE. "National security includes the strength of our economy, the vitality of our institutions and the morale of our people," says BENS. Last issue, in Part One of our "Search for Solutions" series, we examined new ideas about controlling nuclear weapons, preventing nuclear war and improving U.S.-Soviet relations. This issue we examine some new notions of Real Security and how organizations and individuals are using these concepts to raise fundamental questions about the size, shape and mission of U.S. military and nuclear policy. In forthcoming issues we will study some of the most interesting new visions, arguments and projects—still very much in the formative stages—in greater detail and explore their implications for the peace and arms control communities.

Real Security

What is it? How can we get it?

By Greg Mitchell

Ronald Reagan's loose talk about fighting and winning a nuclear war helped inspire a worldwide disarmament movement in the early 1980s. Antinuclear activists loudly identified what they were *against*, but the effectiveness of this negative message as a political organizing tool has been limited. Now the President is giving the peace movement an opportunity to describe what it stands *for*.

Reagan sells "Star Wars." What is the movement's alternative to mutual assured destruction? Reagan sends war planes to the Middle East, and gunships to Central America. What is the movement's definition of "vital interest," its vision of "national security"? Reagan throws so much money at the Pentagon that two senators from his own party concoct a devastating deficit-cutting scheme. Where does the movement think federal money should be spent?

Slowly, fitfully, sometimes altogether reluctantly, longtime critics of the nuclear arms race, American adventurism abroad and excessive military spending are realizing that they will never make much progress, politically or with the American public, until they are perceived as standing *for* something—even if it's something so vague (for now) as "real," "true," "common," or "mutual" security. The popularity of Star Wars, and rising public sentiment against intervention and military spending, have created for progressive forces the opportunity (which may be fleeting indeed) to finally provide what the Rocky Mountain Institute's Amory Lovins calls "the critical missing link in the peace movement."

ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE

A Gallup Poll, released in mid-April, revealed that the war system's window of vulnerability has opened a bit. It showed that for the first time in years the majority of the public believes that nuclear parity exists between the superpowers. In an almost perfect reversal from five years ago, 47 percent now believe we are spending too much on the military, and only 13 percent too little. And Gallup found that the average American believes that fully 37 cents out of every dollar spent on the military is "wasted." On this latter point there was no significant difference between the views of Republicans, Democrats and independents.

Americans may not yet agree with Kenneth Boulding's recent assessment: "National defense is now the greatest enemy of national security." But after a decade under siege—first from the right, and now from the left—traditional notions of national security may be losing credibility in the center. James Reston, the *New York Times* columnist, actually seemed to be on top of a developing story when he wrote not long ago: "Nicaragua is merely a symbol of a much deeper confusion over the true interests of our nation. It has to do with the conduct of our affairs at home and abroad, not merely with the news of the day but with the history of the Republic—its values and priorities, and the future of our children. . . . A debate on what constitutes 'the national interest' is long overdue."

Reston may not envision a radical reexamination or redefinition of national security. But in admitting that something has gone awry with U.S. policy and budget priorities—and in suggesting that our national security is not what it's cracked up to be (even under a popular, saber-rattling President)—he and other mainstream commentators are helping to create an at-

Special research assistance for this article by Philip Laurence.

mosphere for theoreticians, analysts and activists to rush forward with *their* visions of Real Security, and the means of attaining it. They are starting to do so.

And they are doing it in a most savvy and positive way. During the past year, several pollsters and media experts have told peace movement leaders that they have to find a way to appeal to "traditional American values." What is more traditional than the belief in national security? And what constitutes national security is now up for grabs. So you have business executives citing Eisenhower's attack on the military-industrial complex, and you have the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom vowing to "reclaim national security" (they want a two-year cut of $146 billion in the Pentagon budget, for starters).

Security, after all, has a hard ring to it, compared with the mellow sound of "peace" or even "arms control." If you couch it in terms of security you can propose "reorienting our armed forces toward true defense" (as SANE has)—or all sorts of other provocative things. Peace groups have lately called for: pulling troops out of Europe in a staged process; ending Third World intervention; eliminating all funds for the Rapid Deployment Force; cancelling all new nuclear weapons and unnecessary conventional arms. "Do we really need 10 divisions of the U.S. Army in West Germany?" asks Erica Foldy of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "Do we need two more aircraft carriers—for what war? Where?"

THINKING POSITIVE

But that's more negatives. What do the advocates of real security stand *for?*

"We must move toward more positive messages that connect nuclear disarmament with the quality of life we envision in this country and around the world," says Diane Aronson, executive director of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND).

"Real security," says Representative Edward Markey, "depends upon progress in arms control, developing a quality national educational system, insuring the prosperity of the civilian economy, and a rebuilding of America's cities and infrastructure."

"We and the Soviets must recognize that a state of common peril exists," asserts the American Friends Service Committee. "The answer is for both governments to develop a policy of 'common security.' The basis for a common security policy is that neither superpower can increase its own security at the expense of the other."

Sentiments such as these are often accompanied by specific policy suggestions: Real Security means military readiness, not military hardware, so raise military pay. Real Security means moving troops to defensive positions, so reduce foreign deployments. Real Security means upgrading verification and crisis control technology, so spend money on that, not on modernizing nuclear weapons. Real Security means maintaining a strong economy, not a bloated military, so redirect research and development funds from the Pentagon to the private sector. Real Security means preventing the development of new Soviet weapons, not creating a Strategic Defense Initiative to try to destroy new Soviet weapons, so enact a bilateral freeze. And so on.

Certainly, there is nothing new about progressive groups criticizing military spending, and providing a long list of domestic programs (from food stamps to environmental protection) that deserve a bigger piece of the pie. And intellectuals like Marcus Raskin have floated ideas about new national security systems for years. What's different now is the pervasiveness of the Real Security rhetoric and the arrival of so many ambitious projects aimed at turning rhetoric into action. A brief sampling to show the diversity of some of the current endeavors:

- Five years ago, Richard Barnet wrote an important book called *Real Security.* Now he has initiated a major project at the Institute for Policy Studies that will develop material and run workshops to bring "alternative views" of national security to peace, church and labor groups. "Most U.S. policies," Barnet says, "are based on assumptions that have not been examined for years. They are the sacred cows of American politics." Reaction from the groups so far? "Absolutely phenomenal, across the board," Barnet reports.
- Amory Lovins' Rocky Mountain Institute, long an innovator in energy policy, has launched a Redefining National Security program. It will take account of "new and emerging resource realities," according to Lovins, to determine what makes people really secure. "Today," says Lovins, "the U.S. projects power around the world to protect access to vital and indispensible raw materials at the same time that advances in science and energy are making those resources obsolete." For example, one year's spending on the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), if put into programs to weatherize buildings, Lovins points out, "would about eliminate the need for U.S. oil imports" (thereby eliminating the RDF's mission).
- Arthur Kanegis, former media director of the Center for Defense Information, is attempting to put together a Hollywood blockbuster that would show the world under a new security system in the year 2020. He wants to tap the same vein struck by "We Are the World" and enlist some of the top actors, screenwriters and filmmakers to bring the project, *Future Wave* , to a mass audience. Paul Newman, Jane Alexander and Martin Sheen, among many others, are serving on the advisory board, and Arthur C. Clarke, the author of *2001,* has agreed to be a script consultant, beaming in story ideas via modem from his home in Sri Lanka. Kanegis promises a film with "new kinds of heroes and heroines and new ways of overcoming conflict—a positive vision of a world secure from nuclear catastrophe, with mechanisms for averting war."

Ark Communications Institute in Bolinas, California, alone, is producing this year two books, several radio shows, a spacebridge, and a resource guide, all based on redefining national security. The World Policy Institute is taking the findings from its Security Project and briefing political candidates. WAND has gone so far as to officially add an alternative reading of their own name—"Women's Action for a *New Direction.*" On April 15 it issued a press release denouncing the U.S. bombing of Libya, and stressing WAND's commitment to "seek new directions in U.S. foreign and national security policy." This would have been unthinkable one year ago.

THE REAL THING

The wisdom of tossing one-quarter of a trillion dollars at the Pentagon and calling it "national security" is highly debatable, says Howard Morland, of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, "but serious debate on it has never taken place."

That's changing now. But how sustained will that debate be? When Physicians for Social Responsibility took up the military budget battle this spring for the first time, it beat the Real Security drum, but one top PSR staffer in Washington, D.C., admits: "Our alternative vision is still, basically, 'arms control.' Long-term visions just don't sell in this town. You come off as a crackpot."

But the appeal, and the challenge, of Real Security *is* real, and it will be with us for some time. "Every political candidate I've come across the past two months," reports SANE PAC director Jerry Hartz, "has been talking about national security and the military budget." Grass-roots activists are pressing their national leaders to come up with new, inspiring and unifying themes for the movement. SDI is rushing ahead, Gramm-Rudman is holding firm, polls show that the public continues to call for harnessing the military. Ronald Reagan has not given us Real Security—and yet, he has. □

Redefining National Security

America will sink or swim with its economy, not its military

By Lester R. Brown

GREG RAGLAND

Preoccupied with each other, the United States and the Soviet Union have apparently failed to notice that global geopolitics are being reshaped in a way that defines security more in economic than in traditional military terms. Now, quite apart from the positive contributions of the peace movement, worsening economic conditions may become the key motivation for reversing the militarization of the past generation.

Throughout most of the post-war period, an expanding economy permitted the world to have more guns and more butter. For many countries, however, this age has come to an end. Governments can no longer both boost expenditures on armaments and deal effectively with the forces that are undermining their economies.

The choices now are between continued militarization of the economy and restoration of its environmental support systems; between continued militarization and attempts to halt growth of the U.S. debt; between continued militarization and new initiatives to deal with the dark cloud of Third World debt. The world has neither the financial resources nor the time to militarize and to deal with these new threats to security.

DEBTS OF DESPAIR

"National security" has become a commonplace expression, a concept regularly appealed to. It is used to justify the maintenance of armies, the development of new weapon systems, and the manufacture of armaments. One-fourth of all the federal taxes in the United States and at least an equivalent amount in the Soviet Union are levied in its name.

Since World War II, the concept of national security has acquired an overwhelmingly military character, rooted in the assumption that the principal threat to security comes from other nations. Commonly veiled in secrecy, consideration of military threats has become so dominant that new threats to the security of nations—threats with which military forces cannot cope—are being ignored.

For the United States and the Soviet Union, the cost of the arms race goes beyond mere fiscal reckoning. It is draining their treasuries, weakening their economies, and lowering their positions in the international economic hierarchy. This long, drawn-out conflict is contributing to a realignment of the leading industrial countries, with Japan assuming a dominant position in the world economy. One of the keys to Japan's emergence as an economic superpower is its negligible military expenditures—less than one percent of its gross national product (GNP), compared with seven percent of the GNP in the United States and 14 percent in the Soviet Union.

The doubling of the U.S. national debt, from $914 billion in 1980 to $1,841 billion in 1985, is due more to the growth of military expenditures than to those of any other sector. The growing federal debt is mortgaging the country's economic future and, consequently, its position in the world economy.

An overvalued dollar and the lack of investment in new industrial capacity have dramatically altered America's position in world trade. As recently as 1975, the United States had a small trade surplus. In 1980, it registered a trade deficit of $36 billion. The trade deficit climbed to $70 billion in 1983, and to a staggering $150 billion in 1985.

This ballooning trade deficit and the associated borrowing abroad to finance the federal debt have cost the country its position as the world's leading international investor. While Japan's external holdings during this decade have grown from $12 billion to more than $120 billion, the net foreign assets of the United States have plummetted to *minus* $120 billion. Almost overnight, the United States has become a debtor nation—a precipitous, and unprecedented, fall from leadership.

This is a worrisome shift for a country whose international leadership role since World War II has derived in large part from its economic strength and prestige. The military expenditures that are weakening the United States economically are diminishing both its stature within the international community and its capacity to lead.

The Soviet Union, too, is paying a heavy price for its role in the arms race, retaining second-class economic status despite its wealth of natural resources. Military spending channels roughly one-seventh of the nation's resources to non-

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productive uses. From the early 1950s through the late 1970s the Soviet economy grew at roughly five percent annually, a rate of expansion that brought progress on many fronts. Today, Soviet industrial growth has slowed to a crawl. In agriculture, less grain is being produced now than in the late 1970s.

While the United States and the Soviet Union have been preoccupied with each other militarily, Japan has been moving to the fore economically. By some economic indicators, it now leads both military superpowers. In a world where the enormous investment in nuclear arsenals has no practical use, the terms denoting leadership and dominance are shifting in Japan's favor. Governors and mayors in the United States now compete vigorously for Japanese investment. And Third World delegations seeking investment and technology from abroad regularly journey to Tokyo. For developing countries, the Japanese model is far more attractive than either the problem-ridden Soviet economy or the debt-ridden American one.

The U.S. economy is still twice as large as Japan's, and the country has a vastly superior indigenous resource base of land, energy fuels, minerals, and forest products. Nonetheless, a country that is a net debtor, borrowing heavily from the rest of the world, cannot effectively exercise economic or political leadership.

Unfortunately, the two superpowers that are perpetuating the arms race are not its only victims. To the extent that the arms competition diverts attention from the Third World debt that is weakening the international financial system, or from the ecological deterioration that is undermining the global economy, the entire world suffers. The extensive deterioration of national support systems and the declining economic conditions evident in much of the Third World pose threats to national and international security that now rival the traditional military ones.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

Yet, a few governments have begun to redefine national security, putting more emphasis on economic progress and less on buying arms. At a time when global military expenditures are rising, some countries are actually cutting military outlays. A handful are reducing them sharply, not only as a share of GNP, but in absolute terms as well. Among these are China, Argentina, and Peru.

As recently as 1972, China was spending 14 percent of its GNP for military purposes, one of the highest rates in the world at the time. Beginning in 1975, however, China systematically began to reduce its military expenditures, and except for 1979 has done so for the last eight years. By 1985, military spending had fallen to 7.5 percent of its gross national product.

There are indications that this trend may continue throughout the 1980s. In July 1985, Beijing announced a plan to invest $360 million over two years to retrain one million soldiers for return to civilian life. Such a move would cut the armed forces in China from 4.2 million in 1985 to 3.2 million in 1987, a drop of 24 percent. At the same time, the leaders in Beijing have stepped up the effort to restore and protect the economy's environmental support systems by increasing expenditures on agriculture, reforestation and desert reclamation. In effect, China is defining security in economic and ecological terms.

In Argentina, one of the first things that Raul Alfonsin did as newly elected president in late 1983 was to announce a plan to steadily lower military spending. When he took office there was broad public support for a reduction in arms expenditures, partly because of the ill-fated Falklands War, which undermined the military's credibility. By 1984, arms outlays had been cut to half the peak level of 1980, earning Alfonsin a well-deserved reputation for reordering priorities and shifting resources to social programs.

More recently, Peru has joined the ranks of those announcing plans to cut military expenditures. One of the first actions of President Alan Garcia on taking office in the summer of 1985 was a call to halt the regional arms race. Garcia is convinced of the need to reduce the five percent of Peru's GNP allotted to the military, a sum that consumed one-fourth of its federal budget. As an indication of his sincerity, President Garcia announced that he was cancelling half of an order for 26 French Mirage fighter planes.

Encouragingly, the reductions in military expenditures undertaken by these three governments were independent of any negotiated reductions in neighboring countries. China lowered military outlays unilaterally, despite its 3000 kilometer border with the Soviet Union, which has continued to increase its military might. Over the next few years, as governments everywhere face difficulties in maintaining or improving living standards, others may also choose to reduce military expenditures.

RESHAPING GEOPOLITICS

Understanding the new threats to security and economic progress will challenge the analytical skills of governments. Sadly, the decision-making apparatus in most governments is not organized to balance threats of a traditional military nature with those of an ecological and economic origin. Non-military threats are much less clearly defined. And national defense establishments are useless against them.

The key to demilitarizing the world economy and shifting resources is defusing the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. Whether this can be achieved in the foreseeable future remains to be seen. But as the costs of maintaining the arms race multiply, both for the superpowers and for the world at large, the likelihood of reducing tensions may be improving.

In East Asia, for example, traditional adversaries China and Japan appear to be in the process of establishing strong economic ties. In contrast to the United States, China appears to be abandoning military competition with the Soviet Union. With Japan showing little interest in becoming a military power, the stage is being set for peace in the region. Both countries have redefined security and reshaped their geopolitical strategies.

If ideology gives way to pragmatism, as it is doing in China, then the conflicts and insecurities bred by the ideological distinctions between East and West can lessen. If the Soviet Union adopts the reforms needed to get its economy moving again, a similar ideological softening may result. Turning more towards a market-oriented economy to allocate resources and boost productivity could not only restructure the Soviet economy, but also reorient Soviet politics. Although pragmatism has typically taken a back seat to ideology in the Soviet Union, the leaders have demonstrated that they can be pragmatic when circumstances require, as when they import grain from the United States, their ideological rival.

For the world as a whole, the past generation has seen an overwhelming movement toward militarization. Apart from the heavy claim on public resources, the East-West conflict contributes to a psychological climate of suspicion and distrust that makes the cooperative, international assessment of new threats to the security of nations next to impossible. China, Argentina and Peru may provide the models for the future. If demilitarization could replace militarization, national governments would be free to reorder their priorities, and could return to paths of sustained progress.

Ironically, for the United States and the Soviet Union, maintaining a position of leadership may now depend on reducing military expenditures to strengthen their faltering economies. Acting thus in their own interest, they could set the stage for demilitarizing the world economy. Once it starts, demilitarization—like militarization—could feed on itself.□

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Beyond Budget Bashing

Experts and activists press new priorities

BY BETH BAKER

Virtually every sector of American society is beginning to question President Reagan's military budget. "Farms Not Arms" bumper stickers are seen on pickup trucks in Iowa. A teacher's union in Maryland tells its congressman that a vote for military spending will be considered a vote against education. Even the hawkish AFL-CIO is publicly throwing its weight on the side of Pentagon cuts, joining with civil rights, women's, peace and church groups to form Americans for a Common Sense Budget.

And this year, more national organizations than ever before are going beyond budget-bashing to question the cornerstones of U.S. foreign policy, and outline detailed alternatives to massive Pentagon spending.

"The issue," observes Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) in the group's latest newsletter, "is budget priorities and policy, not percentage increases or decreases." SANE notes that the challenge is "to develop new premises" and make "a new attempt to define all the security needs of the United States."

Legislatively, the leading countermeasure is the Alternative Defense Budget, prepared this year by Representatives Patricia Schroeder and Ronald Dellums. It would pare budget authority to the Gramm-Rudman prescribed level of $255 billion (compared to the President's requested $320 billion). It would do this by, among other things, reforming the procurement process; canceling sea- and ground-launched cruise missiles, ASATs and Trident II; reducing U.S. troops in Europe by two divisions; and eliminating funds for the Rapid Deployment Force. It will be voted on as a substitute to the defense authorization bill, as well as being part of the "FY Alternative: Quality of Life Budget" (formerly known as the Congressional Black Caucus Budget).

Several organizations have adopted Alternative Defense Budget figures and then given them a new twist. The Jobs with Peace (JwP) budget, which the group uses in its national grass-roots organizing campaigns, does not emphasize cuts so much as trade-offs. It proposes

ILLUSTRATIONS BY GREG RAGLAND

$79.8 billion in cuts and then indicates precisely where those savings can be passed on: employment, housing, education, human services, transit, environmental and family farm programs. This, JwP literature says, "shows how we can use our tax dollars to provide true security—by pursuing a healthy economy in a peaceful world."

But will any of these alternative approaches, and the issues they raise about national security, make much of a mark this year?

The Schroeder-Dellums measure has been embraced by a number of organizations with strong grass-roots constituencies, including the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), WAND and the Machinists Union, to name a few. But while some of these groups will actively lobby on its behalf—most notably Church Women United, who at this writing has already conducted 31 visits to representatives—most will simply make the Alternative Defense Budget available to their chapters for use as an educational tool.

But not all arms control and peace groups share the enthusiasm for the Alternative Defense Budget. Common Cause, for example, feels it will be viewed as too impractical on Capitol Hill to be a useful legislative vehicle.

"The alternative budgets aren't going anywhere," says Mike Mawby, a Common Cause lobbyist. "We're looking at ways to get the defense budget as low as we can and make it a political fight with Reagan."

WORKING FROM THE TOP DOWN

The fear of being seen as irrelevant and ineffective on Capitol Hill shapes the strategy of many groups, including the Committee for National Security, an educational organization which—as its name implies—was established ostensibly to broaden and redefine national security by involving a select group of influential people. But the group has found it difficult to get beyond the prevailing definitions of national security.

In "Defense Choices: Greater Security with Fewer Dollars," the Committee outlines its version of a rational military budget. While the bottom line—$261 billion in budget authority for the Defense Department—is fairly close to the Schroeder-Dellums Alternative, CNS does not appear to challenge the underlying assumptions which drive U.S. foreign and military policy. "We have accepted the Reagan Administration's vision of the world, in which, if military action were considered necessary, ready and sustainable conventional force would be required," the study explains. "We have therefore sought to maintain an ability to respond quickly and decisively to simultaneous crises."

Describing its budget (which is based on data compiled by Harvard University's William Kaufman) as "austere," the study goes on to say, "The CNS preferred force provides strong nuclear retaliatory capabilities," which include Trident subs, 51 additional B-1 bombers ("to make up for deferring 'Stealth'") and the acceptance of certain "inherited" weapons such as sea-launched cruise missiles.

While such views may seem heresy to many peace activists, CNS believes that in order to influence those who make decisions, they must debate the issues on terms set by the status quo. Jo Husbands, author of the study, says CNS would like to focus attention on other aspects of security, such as economics and development, but that "we need to establish a more reasonable climate around defense" before moving on to such issues.

The Defense Budget Project, led by Gordon Adams, sees itself with a similar mission. The Project, which provides valuable research and analysis of the military budget to a host of organizations, wants to promote "a sensible debate over national security, which means a sensible debate over the budget," according to Senior Associate Jeff Colman. "We are trying to show there are other priorities."

The Freeze Campaign is also trying to influence decision makers on these issues.

They have hired political consultant Bill Kaplan to set up a May 30 conference on Capitol Hill, in association with Representative Edward Markey, on "A Common Sense National Defense Budget and Restoring the Economic Health of the Nation." So far, Kaplan has signed up 96 representatives and six senators as sponsors, with economists such as Seymour Melman, Gar Alperovitz and Robert Lekachman, among others, leading panels.

Kaplan hopes the conference will help "put together a broad coalition to be prepared to ask very serious questions about the direction of the country." He believes there will be a long-term interest in reexamining national security as a result of the current fiscal crisis. "There's a groundswell of opinion in that direction," he adds. "Congress doesn't do this in isolation from the public."

But David Dreyer, legislative director for Senator Gary Hart, disagrees. He believes the current disenchantment with military spending is due solely to the deficit and to procurement scandals. "This doesn't have any long-term implications for support for a strong defense," Dreyer asserts. The idea of redefining national security is not one shared by Hart, according to Dreyer, who says the Senator would instead like to "reform the military."

Raoul Rosenberg, legislative director for Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) in Washington, D.C., is also doubtful that the current challenge to military spending will be sustained. "Without the deficit, there wouldn't be the skepticism," he believes. "I don't think there's a deep and widespread dissatisfaction among the public."

Nevertheless, PSR is lobbying for the first time this year on the budget. "A firm and strong economy, health care, an educational base—all these factors lead to national security," says Rosenberg. "But to prevent nuclear war remains our sole purpose."

AND FROM THE BOTTOM UP

While many Washington-based groups are grappling with how to move Congress, other organizations are convinced that the best way to influence policy, and raise new notions of national security, is to educate and organize at the grass roots.

"We're actually doing *less* work on the budget on the Hill this year," says one SANE national staffer. "That's too bad, because this year we really have a great opening. But we're trying to make it more of a local issue."

Adds Gene Carroll, field coordinator for the Freeze Campaign in Washington, D.C.: "I'm not sure budget work can make a difference in this town. And there's still poor coordination between peace and domestic issue groups on the Hill. But the issue is being raised very well locally, especially by Jobs with Peace."

Unlike many peace groups, Church Women United began working on the military budget because it wanted to protect domestic programs. Like other social concerns groups, including the AFL-CIO, Church Women United realized it was impossible to do so *without* challenging military spending.

A 500,000-member, 38-denomination Christian women's organization, Church Women United has seen a dramatic rise in local interest in national security and budget issues. According to Sally Timmel, coordinator of the group's Washington office, "there probably haven't ever been such serious discussions in local parishes across the nation." Timmel believes the deficit, along with the fear of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, Angola and Libya, have sparked a whole new level of debate and dialogue within mainstream churches.

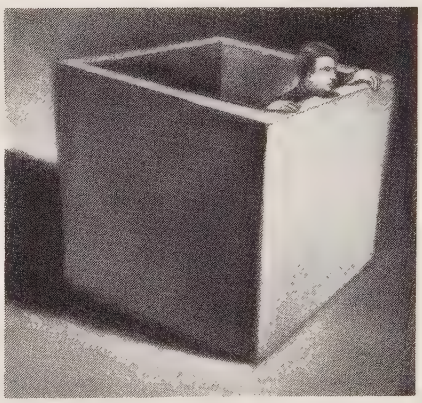
But there are many obstacles to local budget work. The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy recently surveyed 30 organizations in 25 states and concluded in a draft report: "Everybody is scared of nuclear war, and nobody likes the idea of 'another Vietnam,' but . . . the average American doesn't think a lot about problems with U.S. foreign policy, or even consider questioning the priorities of the federal budget. People are concerned with issues close to home . . . If people see a threat to their own well-being, or see harm to their community, then they will speak out loudly in their defense." Many grass-roots organizers, according to the report, expressed skepticism about using the budget as an organizing tool.

But others emphasized that they would be much more likely to become active if they had a sense that what they were doing was part of a coordinated national campaign. The Coalition, according to the report, remains interested in "developing and promoting an alternative foreign policy" so that it "enters the lives of most Americans," using the federal budget "as a vehicle to make such an abstract discussion tangible."

With an ongoing determination to unite with each other around shared goals, progressive groups could develop a groundswell of public support for a reordering of federal priorities and a vigorous debate on what our genuine national interests are. But only when the current cries for decreased military spending are joined with demands for nuclear disarmament and an end to military intervention can a long-term, profound shift in perspective—and policy—be set in motion. □

Police Force

The Pentagon's budget is usually divided according to manpower, operation or weapons system. But what does the Department of Defense actually *do* with its $300 billion or so a year? "The answer," writes Howard Morland in a popular new policy paper, "is not obvious." To make things chillingly clear, Morland, disarmament coordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, has divided the DOD budget according to military mission. And so we discover (according to Morland's calculations) that only three percent of the budget goes for defense of the nation's borders, 10 percent for deterring nuclear attack, 37 percent for containment of the Soviets, and 45 percent for Third World military intervention. Morland is circulating the paper among Coalition members, raising questions about "real security" by asking them what parts of the budget they advocate cutting out. "If you're going to make major cuts," Morland observes, "it's going to have to come out of the surface navy and land forces."



Morland calls this a new direction for the Coalition and the peace movement. "We've never taken much of a stand on conventional forces," he says. "We'll have to find new friends in Congress to take this up. What we'd like to do is get the same kind of discussion going about conventional forces that we saw with nuclear weapons in 1982." But isn't this a long step away from an antinuclear focus? "There's no way to disconnect our nuclear posture from our role as global policeman," Morland says. "Force projection is what it's all about." **—G.M.**

Intervention vs. Isolation

The Central Dilemma must be settled first

By Thomas Powers

The poet W.H. Auden, with one big war behind him and another ahead, called ours the "age of anxiety." Now we fear another war, and the weapons we have built to make us safe threaten catastrophe if used. Even the builders agree, and yet insist we need more in the interest of "national security." Eisenhower as President worried we would beggar ourselves in the pursuit of "national security," but when he had finished railing at every new demand from the Pentagon he generally gave it a big part of what it wanted to make us safe. But safe from what? The cost is real enough, but how real is the enemy? Did we make some ghastly error in reading the Russians?

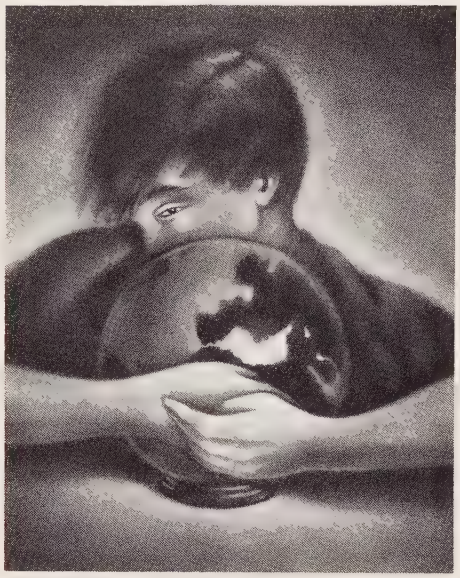
Would it were so, but the Cold War is not a mistake. It is not the result of some foolish blunder back in the mid-1940s when the Big Three were trying to decide how to divide up the postwar world in the wake of German defeat.

Nor is the Cold War a misunderstanding. It is not the result of hysterical anti-Communism and fear of aggression in the West, nor of Russian fear and suspicion of class enemies out to destroy the Bolshevik experiment in the East.

Of course, fat histories have been written to argue just the opposite. And in public debate governments like to keep it simple: We say it's their fault and they say it's our fault. A few hardy souls on both sides attempt to lay the blame closer to home. But behind the routine finger-pointing is a deeper motive—pure anxiety. The Cold War threatens unimaginable horrors; if it's someone's doing then perhaps it can be undone.

But what if the Cold War is a prosaic fact of nature, an inevitable realignment of the world to take up the space emptied by Germany—a conflict of fundamental interests like those of Rome and Carthage?

This gloomy possibility was already troubling Winston Churchill back in February 1945, when the war–time alliance was beginning to come apart. Churchill was a classic British imperialist, no friend of Bolshevism, and a balance-of-power man. But he had a ruminative turn as well, and he was much-experienced in the sort of national rivalries which



GREG RAGLAND

routinely lead to war. Russia was on his mind, not international Communism. One night he had to dinner Arthur Harris, the chief of British Bomber Command, then busily reducing the cities of Germany to rubble. Soon Harris' work would be done, Churchill mused, but what then? "What are we going to have," Churchill asked, "between the white snows of Russia and the white cliffs of Dover?"

The answer, not long in coming, was the Americans, armed with nuclear weapons. And here we all are, a few decades down the road, poised to destroy ourselves with the weapons we have built in the name of national security.

THE CENTER HOLDS

The central dilemma of our time, which worried Churchill back in 1945, and doubtless worried the Russians too, if we but knew, is the meeting of Russian and American power in central Europe. Both sides feared the other would cross the line. Both sides armed to hold it. When the line held, both sides feared the other would find a way around it, sought allies to defend the flanks, and built weapons to back up the allies.

Forty years of this has divided and militarized the world and threatens us with disaster. In the search for security we have made ourselves about as unsafe as any two peoples in the history of the planet. The danger is a common one, but both sides have tried to meet it in the traditional way, each by its own efforts. The leaders of both sides, despite much lip-service to the contrary, have never given up hope their opponents could be out-witted, out-flanked or even out-built with weapons which couldn't be matched.

Horrified spectators on the sidelines—seeing where this was leading only too clearly—have tried desperately to find a way out. From the beginning the central effort has been to encourage the two sides to address the question of nuclear arms together, through negotiations, in the hope that practical steps to reduce purely military tensions would perhaps ease the central dilemma. From time to time agreements have been signed, but progress has been monstrously slow while the weapons-builders have raced ahead. A brief period of detente in the 1970s ended in acrimony and a renewed arms race. Inevitably disillusion has followed.

Now there is much talk of redefining national security and reconsidering how vital all those vital interests out there really are. National security is what gets defined when one party to an international dispute says, "Oh, yeah? You and who else?" A wise nation avoids such tests when it can but none can avoid them all. Alternatives to our present policies that might reduce the number of those tests are being proposed with increasing vigor: unilateral restraint, a ban on intervention in the Third World, civilian-based defense, and elimination of the Rapid Deployment Force, to name just a few. But none, so far, has really addressed the central dilemma which has always been first in the minds of both Russian and American leaders—that meeting of power which threatens a test of strength.

INTERVENTION VS. ISOLATION

The fear of Soviet–American confrontation in Europe is now much diminished, but the military apparatus on both sides remains. We sometimes say there has been peace in Europe since 1945, but that depends on what you mean by Europe. Eastern Europe has been invaded twice by Soviet troops, and the danger of a third invasion in Poland ended in 1981 only with a declaration of martial law and the suppression of Solidarity. By peace in Europe we really mean peace between Eastern Europe and Western Europe, a happy fact we can explain as we like.

My own feeling is that the line between East and West represents the balance of power, the line great powers cross at their risk, which has been stable for the same reason the borders of Europe were stable between the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and 1914. Fear held the line

then; the great powers armed and allied themselves against each other throughout that period but shrank from direct challenge because they knew a big war would follow and feared the consequences. The 40-odd years before World War I were filled, however, with great power conflicts in peripheral arenas (North Africa, the Middle East and above all the Balkans).

The situation is much the same now—a direct but stable challenge between the great powers in Europe, accompanied by a continuing series of wars and threats of war in peripheral arenas (Korea, Vietnam, the Middle East, Africa and Central America). What the great powers fear is that failure in the peripheral arena will somehow alter the strategic balance and lead to war at a disadvantage in the center—in Europe—in the end.

Official thinking about these local conflicts often seems strained and silly. What difference does it make who rules in Angola, except to the Angolans? You will get a long answer from officials on either side. We may think it farfetched but *they* don't. Both sides fear a big war in the center and, failing a genuine settlement there, each will go on seeking advantage on the periphery. After 40 years the pattern is clear.

Is there no way out of this dilemma, in which the means of our defense are more dangerous than the enemy?

The quickest solution would be to abandon the notion, inherited from the 1930s, that American national security depends on collective security—in short, to let the rest of the world figure out its own defense. The number of nuclear weapons needed to "defend" Europe is far greater than the number it would take to deter a nuclear attack on North America, already protected from conventional attack by two great oceans, by an isthmus to the south, and by an icy strait to the north. American defense planners have never really worried that the Russians are coming. The open question has always been the possibility Russia would come to dominate Western Europe, the Middle East, and Japan in the same way, and by the same means, that it dominates Eastern Europe. We're big enough to stop it from doing so, and have always assumed that our own security—seen in a broad way—would be threatened if we failed. Why not revert to the isolationism of the 1930s, but stick to it this time?

For some reason the American peace movement has been reluctant to tackle this possibility head-on. Most likely the peace movement shies from the stigma attached to isolationism, at least where Europe is concerned. The Third World is a different story. The awful experience of Vietnam has killed popular support for intervention, weak to begin with, and given it a bad name in establishment circles as well.

Opponents of interventionism waste little time arguing whether Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen, Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan are really in the Soviet camp. In effect they have decided it doesn't really matter, at least in the poor and backward corners of the world. If the peace movement could go the last mile, and decide it may not matter in Europe either, the way would be open for sharply reduced American defense budgets—nearly half of all U.S. military spending, by some estimates, is spent in Europe—and a much diminished danger of nuclear war since the risks we run are mainly to keep the Russians off other people's soil, not our own.

THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT

But is this a real possibility? And if it isn't, why raise the question at all?

Every American President since 1945 has been viscerally committed to the notion of collective security, the governments of Europe feel the same way, and not even the American peace movement—worried as it is about the danger of war—seems ready for a new isolationism. In fact, the only clear-headed advocate of this approach I've ever met is Sam Cohen, the inventor of the neutron bomb, who wants to get out of NATO, draw the line at the water's edge, and let the rest of the world deal with the Russians any way they like. He says the response so far is universal silence.

So why raise the question?

Because it suggests one essential element of a solution to an old problem—great power rivalry. Both sides have shown a willingness to compromise, relax, draw back and to even give up on the periphery when common sense has suggested enough was enough. It is only in the center, in Europe, that the two sides have remained head-to-head, bull-like, refusing to give an inch. There the Cold War remains rigid and deadlocked in defense of interests both sides call vital. Just as fear there means fear elsewhere, agreement there would open the way to agreement elsewhere.

Withdrawal in Europe is an essential element of peace—not retreat but a drawing back, an easing of military tension, a thawing of the spirit of confrontation. But neither side can do this alone. The grip of fear is too tight. Why should it be impossible to back away simultaneously? The negotiating tables at Geneva groan with proposals. Almost any agreement could break the spell of deadlock. Keeping the pressure on for such a breakthrough is no small task. □

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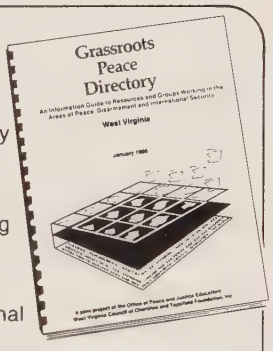

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INTERACTIONS
GROUP NEWS AND COMMENT

WHY NOT TAKE "YES" FOR AN ANSWER?

PSR's founders stood for a lasting ovation. The room, 800 strong, felt the depth of this organization's roots. Its leadership and the luminaries who addressed PSR's 25th Anniversary National Meeting in Philadelphia represented a broad spectrum of political opinion, but the mission was shared—preventing nuclear war—as was the sense that physicians have brought tremendous power to the task.

Ambassador Paul Warnke, former SALT II negotiator, addressed the founders and the assembled crowd upon receiving this year's PSR Award in honor of his life-long dedication to arms control.

Mr. Warnke, now chairman of the Committee for National Security, spoke of General Secretary Gorbachev's recent arms control proposals which Pentagon officials have labelled a "repackaging of old Soviet proposals." In fact, said Warnke, "Gorbachev's plan is a repackaging of American proposals and American ideas."

Mr. Warnke described how the Soviet Union has come to accept ideas that originated with previous American administrations. The CTB originated with the Eisenhower administration, and was pursued by Carter, but the initiative is now coming from Mr. Gorbachev. Similarly, Presidents Johnson and Nixon vigorously advanced the ABM Treaty in the late '60s and early '70s. At the time, it was very difficult to make the Soviets understand the fundamental sense in an agreement to limit defenses. Now, Mr. Gorbachev has had to defend this central arms control agreement from the onslaughts of an American administration.

The new Soviet proposal to withdraw intermediate nuclear forces in Europe and to freeze French and British systems is strikingly similar to the zero option the U.S. proposed in 1981. The ASAT test ban, advanced by Warnke himself, originated in the United States, but it is now in place only because Congress imposed the ASAT test ban upon a recalcitrant administration.

"We ought to take 'yes' for an answer," Mr. Warnke said. His speech reminded us that history is full of surprises, that the United States and Soviet Union have been through many cycles, all too few of which have converged in agreement. The leaders and activists of PSR, here to celebrate 25 years of working together, decided to launch a public education campaign which asks the question: "Why not take 'yes' for an answer?"

For more information, contact PSR at 1601 Connecticut Av. NW, Ste. 800, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 939-5750.

PEACE LINKS

A CAMPAIGN FOR THE CHILDREN

"Well, I am only one person. Don't know if I could be of any help to you, but I'd like to try. I would like to be able to look my son in the eye and say that I honestly tried to do something to eliminate the threat (of nuclear war)." This is a letter we received in response to a recent article about Peace Links in *Parade* magazine. It has the same tone as that of most of the thousands of other letters, often from mothers who came to the realization that concern for their most immediate interest, their children, translates into work for peace.

Women all over this country have come to the same conclusion; many of them are hard at work educating people in their churches, schools, civic and community organizations. These are some of their activities.

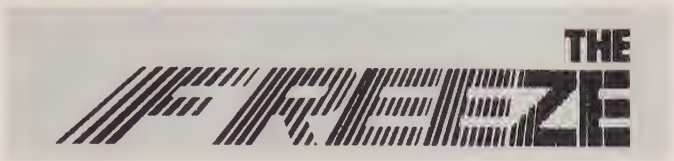
- **Asheville, NC**—The local group led by Kim Hayes is working with a broad-based coalition of church and peace groups to oppose a nuclear waste dump proposed for their area. They have been effective in educating local media.
- Peace Links in **Houston, TX** is developing a speaker-training program and producing a Peace Panel brochure. Brenda Hardt tells us they are using speakers and films to organize neighborhood study groups, and recently sponsored a community breakfast with speakers from several peace groups.
- Marion Selbin in **Baton Rouge, LA** reports on two coffee parties, one radio appearance, a monthly newsletter, a long article about Peace Links in a local newspaper, and a high school essay contest, "Paths to Peace in a Nuclear Age." They also placed peace on the agenda of 16 existing groups.

Peace Links activists also need to hear of the activities of other peace groups in their communities for coalition work. If you would like to contact these or any other Peace Links groups, or start one of your own, please write or phone Peace Links at 747 8th St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

What About the Men?

Peace Links receives regular inquiries from men who ask whether we are open to male participation. Yes, we welcome men in Peace Links. Certainly peace is not only a women's issue. Nuclear winter would affect everyone. But perhaps there are peculiarly female aspects of the issue. Donald Regan is not the first to imply that understanding the complexities of arms technology is a male domain. Peace Links does not attempt to refute this position, but tries to frame the discussion in terms of the human origins of the dilemma. We want to empower women to take an active part in shaping that discussion, and in influencing policy.

Another aspect is psychic numbing. For whatever reason (and there are indications that worry over their children is an important factor), women appear less likely to deny their fears of nuclear war. Is this not, then, a natural grouping of activists?



NEVADA ACTIONS

On May 31, Freeze activists from all over the country will converge on Las Vegas, Nevada. A day of nonviolent legal action will unfold at the Yucca Flat site of our nation's underground nuclear tests in the desert 81 miles northwest of Las Vegas.

For many Freeze activists, the Reagan Administration's resounding March 22 rebuff of invitations to join the Soviets in a nuclear test moratorium provided the final nudge to action. For months they had lobbied the President and Congress for a bilateral end to testing. The 150 kiloton weapons–related "Glencoe" test was an arrogant rebuff to not only the Soviets, but to grass–roots Americans as well.

For peace activists in Las Vegas, where a project called the American Peace Test maintains its national office, the early hours of March 22 were something like this:

At 5:00 AM on the morning after the spring equinox, a small contingent of Californians slipped into the nuclear weapons test site north of Mercury, Nevada. The three men and three women carried food, water, sleeping bags, and first aid. It was their intent to halt the 150 KT underground nuclear test explosion set for 8:00 AM. Somewhere else on the test site, a man who belongs to the hardy band that hopes to complete the disrupted PROPeace march also hoped to prevent the test simply by his presence.

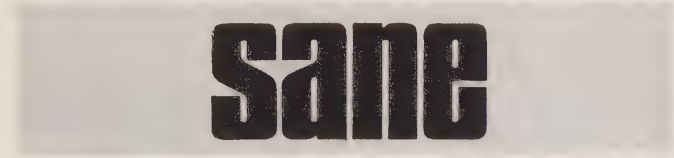
After the Department of Energy (DOE) was notified by a Nye County Sheriff about the test site trespassers at 7:00 AM, DOE helicopters and dirt bikes were dispatched to locate and arrest them. None were found. At 8:00 AM, the desert floor rippled like a pond pelted with a stone.

At 8:15 AM, eight of the 90 Peace Test "witnesses" at a spot on the border of Yucca Flat near a cattle guard calmly entered the site. They were arrested. Most of the 90 shared some common experience of activism in the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, or in the Nevada Desert Experience, or the American Peace Test, or all three.

As the day moved along, the eight who'd been arrested were booked; network and print reporters interviewed and filed stories; activists called from Ohio, Illinois, New York and elsewhere to swap stories about *their* demonstrations; and, finally, the Californians walked out of the test area on their own, never having been seen by the DOE.

By the next day, The American Peace Test was back into planning the May 31 Freeze Day at the test site, and the two following days of nonviolent activities, including both legal protests and civil disobedience, that will unfold at the Nevada desert testing area. **–Marguerite Beck-Rex**

For information about Freeze Day at the test site, call Alan Gregory at the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Ste. 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544–0880 or Jessie Cocks at the American Peace Test in Nevada (702) 878–4989.



WE ARE WINNING

Bert Corona, president of the Mexican Brotherhood, is interpreting in the corner to more than 50 Spanish-speaking delegates at the opening of SANE's National Peaceworks Conference at the Washington Hilton. They are from UAW aerospace unions, refugee support groups, and migrant workers committees. Across the room, some of the other hundreds of key organizers are slow to comprehend why there is muttering to the side. There are a few cold glances, slight throat clearings, as at the theater. Then, as traditional Freeze and peace activists recognize what is actually going on, there emerge smiles, and nods and grins.

It is not simple to build a coalition effort for peace and disarmament. Yet that is what is happening now at SANE. As the interpretation continues, Marcus Raskin, co-chair of SANE and White House advisor to former President John F. Kennedy, describes how we must move from a war system to a peace system. Nuclear arms control is not enough.

All sides now are nodding assent. As a movement, we have learned well the importance of politics and PACs, of swing districts, of key votes. And we cannot go back to utopian posturing. But this is something new. It is the New Left dream of multi-cultural, multi-issue organizing fused with the tough, programmatic politics of the post-Vietnam era.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson sums it up at SANE's Saturday evening rally. "When Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev met, it was a minority meeting. Most people on earth are yellow or black or brown, non-Christian, female, poor, young, and don't speak English. That's the real world. And so when your executive director, Dave Cortright, would dare to break us out of our limited cycle of sameness, that is the highest, the best moral leadership our nation has to offer."

The crowd roars its approval. But can the dream work? This is 1986, not 1966. Will it play in Peoria?

Bill Wachob, one of SANE PAC's leading congressional candidates for 1986, thinks so. He exudes small–town America. His district, which includes Penn State, covers 10,000 square miles of farms and forest. Wachob will represent more deer than people. Yet, here he is, flanked by Rabbi Balfour Brickner and Sandinista official Ray Hooker. "The people in my district, if you speak to them honestly, care deeply about right and wrong, about justice, about what is fair," Wachob says. "Part of our problem has been that Ronald Reagan defends the most unjust policies in moral terms. And we have, to some degree, abdicated moral values. If we, as individuals, talk openly about how our own positions grow out of our beliefs, we can *win*."

Win. It is uncanny how Bill Wachob echoes, in his own quiet way, the soaring oratorical thunder of Jesse Jackson, who the night before has said, "Do not become discouraged easily. Duvalier is gone. We are winning. Marcos is gone. We are winning. Reagan went to Geneva and Gorbachev is coming to the U.S. We are winning. We *intend* to have peace and justice in our time." The crowd roars. Interpretation follows. Hundreds of heads nod and smile and grin. **–Bob Musil**

For audio and video cassettes of SANE's National Peaceworks Conference, contact SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.

COALITION

For a New Foreign and Military Policy

INDISCREET FUNDING

"We cannot turn away from them (the contras), for the struggle here is not between right and left it is between right and wrong."—President Ronald Reagan, March 1, 1985

The Reagan Doctrine has essentially divided the world into two categories. The ominous result has been worsened relations with the Soviet Union, international alliances with deplorable forces, and an Administration military budget request of $320.3 billion.

In addition to funding the Nicaraguan contras, this Administration has committed $200 million in covert aid to the Afghani rebels, up to $5 million in "humanitarian" assistance to the non-communist resistance in Cambodia, and, as of this February, $15 million in CIA discretionary funds for covert military assistance to the anti-government rebels in Angola known as UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

This last is of particular concern to the anti-apartheid movement in this country and deserves the critical attention of all Americans concerned with challenging Ronald Reagan's definitions of "right" and "wrong". Who are the "freedom fighters" that make up UNITA? And, in particular, who is their masterful leader, Jonas Savimbi, apart from a charismatic fund-raiser?

Savimbi is at best a political chameleon and at worst a stooge of the South African government. Throughout his military career, he has knelt at the feet of the Chinese, the North Koreans, and even the Soviet Union in his search for support. At such times his anti-American sloganeering has been as impressive as his anti-Communist rhetoric on American television this past February.

Since 1975 UNITA has grown dependent on South Africa as its chief source of aid in a war against the postcolonial Angolan government and its Cuban supporters. The South African Defense Force (SADF) not only provides UNITA rebels with military and logistical assistance but also fights alongside Savimbi's troops.

With or without South African help, UNITA's human rights record, like that of the Nicaraguan contras, is well-documented and horrifying. They have regularly raided Angolan villages, murdered civilians and burned their crops; they are known to bomb crowded independence day ceremonies. Yet they, along with the contras of Nicaragua, are heralded as the embodiment of American morality and idealism.

Sadly, UNITA's war in Angola against the Cuban–backed government fuels the Cold War militarism vital both to our country's conservative agenda and our omnipotent military-industrial complex. To sell Reagan's 1987 budget to Congress and the American people requires an unstable and conflict–ridden world in which the national security of the United States is seen to be endangered. Their contribution to a distorted worldview based upon images of righteous anti-Soviet struggle make the contras in southern Africa and Central America worth a great deal more than $115 million in aid.

For more information, contact the Coalition at 712 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546–8400.

–Matthew Walker

EDUCATORS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILTY

1986 NATIONAL PROGRAMS

In just three years, one prominent funder recently commented, ESR has "set the industry standard" for nuclear–age education work. ESR's 1986 national programs focus on the challenge of continuing to build a broad-based organization that can make an enduring contribution to education.

Professional Development Teacher Education is ESR's major goal. ESR will create the new position of Director of Teacher Education to involve more teachers and increase classroom effectiveness. The 1986 National Summer Institute and many regional institutes will again draw from the best ESR teachers across the country.

Professional Outreach At national and chapter levels ESR is working with school boards, state advisory boards, professional organizations, and parent/teacher organizations. These affiliations serve to incorporate a variety of perspectives into the ongoing development of nuclear–age education.

1986 Days of Dialogue ESR's traditional Days of Dialogue program will focus on teaching about the Soviet Union. Students will examine the sources of current perceptions about that country and attempt an understanding of Soviet perspectives. Curricula and organizing materials are being developed for classroom, school–wide, and community events.

International Collaboration ESR has invited top Soviet educators from the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences to visit with ESR members in 1986 to discuss ways the United States and the Soviet Union can educate their students about each other's countries.

ESR will meet with international educators at the 6th World Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) in Cologne from May 28 to June 1.

National Resource Center ESR is collaborating with others who are researching or developing materials about nuclear–age education, including the Harvard Nuclear Negotiation Project, The Roosevelt Center for Public Policy, the Committee for National Security, and the Northfield-Mt. Hermon School.

Military Recruiting in the High Schools Continuing the work of the Philadelphia/ESR and Metro New York/ESR, ESR chapters across the country are surveying public high schools to determine the nature and extent of military recruitment on campuses. The project will conclude with recommendations of educational guidelines to assure accurate and balanced presentations of military service and its alternatives.

Publications The revision of *Why Nuclear Age Education?*, a sourcebook for adults that provides the rationale, methodology, and materials for nuclear–age education is now available. Two ESR bibliographies recently have been revised, *Knowing the Nuclear World*, and *Learning About the Soviets*.

Please write us at 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138 if you would like more information about any of these programs.

We send our best wishes with Executive Director Tony Wagner, who is leaving ESR to become project director for the Public Agenda Foundation in New York. And best wishes to Associate Director Susan Alexander, who has been named ESR's Acting Executive Director.

ADPSR

Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE

In a major breakthrough, President Anatoli Polianski of the USSR Union of Architects has invited ADPSR President, Tician Papachristou, along with three other members of ADPSR's National Board of Directors, to travel to Moscow in mid-May. Board member Sidney Gilbert and Sydney and Estelle Brisker of the Los Angeles chapter made the initial contacts with the Soviet architects during earlier trips to their country. It is intended that a follow-up visit of Soviet architects to the United States will follow the May trip, possibly next fall.

In his letter of invitation, President Polianski suggested establishing an International Association called "Architects for Peace." The association, which would have two co-presidents and equal representation from the Soviet Union and the United States, would oppose "the nuclear threat and the militarization of the cosmos" under the motto "To build—not to destroy."

ADPSR favors creating an international organization of architects, designers and planners along lines similar to the Nobel Prize-winning International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). A second goal is to set up an exchange program for students, faculty, and architects from the Soviet Union and the United States.

Since significant costs are connected to these activities (particularly the Soviets' visit here), ADPSR is seeking foundation funding. Support from the chapters, both financial and in kind, will also be necessary. Suggestions, ideas and comments are welcome.

Other News. . .

- The AIA has named Sidney Gilbert a fellow of the Institute. This honor was bestowed specifically for Sidney's distinguished ADPSR record.
- **New York** now has three special groups: *Schools Committee* of faculty and students; *Election Year Education Committee* which will talk to candidates running in forthcoming elections; and the *Research and Information Committee* which generates material for *The News*, the chapter newsletter. Max Protetch Gallery will hold a benefit auction of architectural drawings from June 5-21.
- **Northern California** celebrated its first birthday with a party. A crowd of over 200 devoured a pentagon-shaped birthday cake.
- **National Capital Area** held membership and reorganization meetings.
- **Chicago** is proceeding with a series of posters on economic options to be displayed in the transit system.
- **Los Angeles** is working with a coalition of peace groups to sponsor a speech in late May by Robert M. Bowman, former director of Air Force Advanced Space Program, on "Star Wars: Defense or Death Star?"
- **Boston** participated in a tax day event with "guns vs. butter"-type posters.
- **Seattle** reports that a site for a peace park in Moscow has been tentatively approved.

For more information, contact ADPSR at 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

WAND

WOMEN'S ACTION FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, INC.

THE HUMAN COST

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament is facing a new direction. As the costs of the nuclear arms race have become a growing burden on all Americans—especially women, children and families—WAND has looked toward new directions in communicating its message about the impact of nuclear weapons policies on the quality of life.

The extent of that impact during the five years since President Reagan took office has never been clearer. The harsh reality of the Administration's budget priorities is that housing, health care, nutrition, job training, education and the environment are being sacrificed to MX missiles, Trident submarines, B-1 bombers, cruise missiles and "Star Wars."

The facts about the budget—the principal fact being an 8.2 percent real increase in military spending combined with harsh new cuts in domestic programs—speak for themselves. While the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") gets $5.4 billion, programs for subsidized housing lose almost $10 billion. The Pentagon has $3 billion for Trident II missiles, but Medicaid and child nutrition programs face cuts of more than $2 billion. The list goes on: $1.4 billion for the new Midgetman missile, a $1.1 billion cut for student financial aid; a billion dollars more for Tomahawk cruise missiles, a billion less for food stamps and housing for the elderly and disabled. Nuclear weapons programs now take up two-thirds of the DOE budget.

There is a double tragedy in these numbers: the Reagan nuclear buildup, combined with his steadfast rejection of arms control initiatives, means that the preparations for nuclear war continue, despite the President's acknowledgement that nuclear war must be avoided. The second tragic consequence is the impact of Reagan's budget priorities on the quality of American life. Every dollar taken away from essential social programs can be seen in the faces of single parents and their children, the homeless, the elderly, and the disabled. A nuclear war will put an end to our way of life in a matter of minutes; the costs of the nuclear arms race are eroding our real national strengths just as surely.

The budget issue is about priorities and policy, not percentage increases or decreases. With the necessary facts in hand—easily obtained from a number of groups, including Jobs With Peace, the American Friends Service Committee, Council for a Livable World, the Children's Defense Fund, and WAND—you can write to your members of Congress in the House and Senate with a twofold message: the Pentagon should contribute no less than its share to deficit reduction, and the way to begin that process is to eliminate funds for new first-strike nuclear weapons, including space-based weapons.

Finally, write to President Reagan himself, and tell him that the economic security of the United States can no longer be bartered away to weapon systems that increase the dangers of nuclear war.

—John Loretz

For more information contact WAND at P.O. Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258 (617) 643-6740.

HEALTH PROFESSIONALS TAKING PART

It was a public health professional who observed that nuclear war "would be the last epidemic our civilization will know." That often cited analogy was made by the dean of Harvard's School of Public Health, Dr. Howard H. Hiatt. It expressed the sentiments of the great majority of public health workers. Their professional association, the American Public Health Association (APHA), was one of the first in the nation to call for a multilateral freeze on nuclear armaments. It believes that no two issues are more incompatible than nuclear war and public health. In 1982 APHA became one of the founding members of Citizens Against Nuclear War, or CAN.

Almost 50,000 public health professionals and community health leaders belong to APHA. Its small but expert Government Relations office is not content to provide professional advice to policymakers. It also lobbies on issues of concern to the association. At last summer's annual meeting, 2200 APHA members took the time to lobby their members of Congress on funding for health programs. They also opposed the rigidity of the Gramm-Rudman bill, which threatens further drastic reductions in needed federal programs. APHA members also gathered before the South African embassy in Washington to protest apartheid.

CAN staff and APHA's field program work closely together to generate comment from members outside of Washington on nuclear issues pending in Congress. Richard Gilbert of the Government Relations staff of APHA is building a list of activist members who are interested in responding to legislative alerts from APHA.

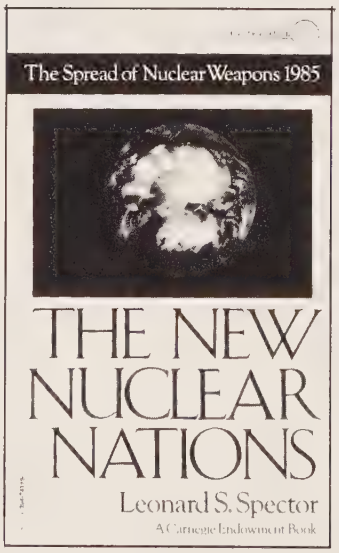
Sometimes the alerts are sent to a targeted list, such as members in 10 states whose senators or representatives were considered "swing votes" on chemical weapons funds. When requested to provide help, CAN staff has assisted in the preparation and mailing of alerts.

APHA has a Peace Caucus headed by Gail Gordon, an assistant professor of health sciences. Last year she helped arrange for a plenary session on US/USSR Arms Control that was held during the annual meeting. CAN's Executive Director, Karen Mulhauser, was asked to arrange for the speakers and came up with a blue ribbon group: Paul Warnke, SALT II negotiator; Dr. Jack Geiger, president-elect of Physicians for Social Responsibility; and Henry Nicholas, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, an AFL-CIO union which is a member of CAN.

APHA's annual meeting adopted a resolution opposing the Star Wars or Strategic Defense Initiative program, so this year APHA and CAN will be working together in opposition to increased funding for space weapons research and certain military budget issues. **—Georgianna Rathbun**

For more information, contact CAN at 1201 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7483.

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons Today



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SPRING CREEK COMMUNITY
1979

Local Councils Pass The Test

Shades of 1982: Activists mobilize around CTB initiatives

By Alex Miller

Although the Soviet testing moratorium was virtually ignored by the national media—and brushed aside by the Reagan Administration—activists at the grass-roots level have refused to let the test ban issue die. In fact, a wave of state and local activity has swept across the country, taking the media and some local politicians with it. "The vehicle by which the test ban has been actively debated is grass-roots organizing," says Michael Immerso, director of the New Jersey Freeze Campaign. "National organizations just haven't reached the national media."

Local organizations, however, do seem to be reaching local media and local government, in a way that hasn't been seen since the heyday of the 1982 freeze referenda. Perhaps the most visible element of this grass-roots initiative is the number of municipal and state-level resolutions calling for a moratorium leading to a negotiated test ban. A campaign to win approval of these resolutions is being coordinated by the Freeze Campaign, Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), SANE, Greenpeace, and other national peace groups. But the impetus for the resolution campaign came from local organizations. The idea took root in southern California, says Gene Carroll, national organizing director for the Freeze Campaign. "Like most good ideas," he says, "the campaign was not thought up by someone in a national office."

So far, over 75 municipalities nationwide have passed test ban measures, including New Haven, Detroit, Sacramento and Honolulu. In Massachusetts alone, 16 municipalities passed resolutions or were scheduled to vote on them.

In Washington state, activists at Puget Sound SANE banded together with PSR and a coalition of local peace groups in what was perhaps the biggest CTB victory outside of Congress. A call for a test ban was approved by votes of 67-28 in the House and 43-0 in the Senate just days before the U.S. House of Representatives voted on *its* test ban resolution. "It was our first attempt at working through the state legislature," recalls Janet Miller, citizens lobby director.

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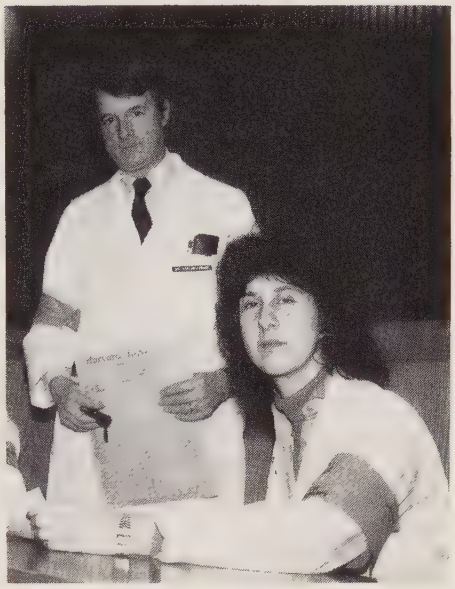


M.D.s band together for a CTB

In Jackson County, Missouri, the legislature's decision to adopt a test ban resolution caused a slight political rumble. "Our primary responsibility is to collect property taxes," admits Fred Sanchez, a first-term legislator from Kansas City who introduced the resolution. "I never expected it to pass."

Sister Pat Kenoyer of the Kansas City Freeze Campaign, which supported the measure with 18 other groups, was also surprised by the victory, since 7800 county residents work at Bendix building parts for nuclear weapons. The winning eight to four tally was cemented by the addition of a last-minute amendment on economic conversion, which secured the votes of legislators representing labor interests in the community, who had previously been skeptical of the bill.

Opponents of the resolution argued that it is not the business of a county legislature to be voicing its opinion on national issues. But Sanchez notes, "because of increased military spending, the county's share of federal revenues is getting smaller."

Other grass-roots actions on the test ban have ranged from phone and letter-writing campaigns to vigils, petition drives, and lobbying. And in Boston, PSR sponsored a press conference on March 19 at the Harvard School of Public Health featuring 250 members of the Greater Boston chapter wearing doctors' traditional white coats and blue armbands saying "Stop Nuclear Tests."

"When we noticed that there was no national media coverage on the testing moratorium, we figured we should do something dramatic," says Anne Gallivan, executive director of the PSR chapter. PSR is calling the armband events "Code Blue Alerts," a medical term meaning a life or death emergency, to express the urgent need for a test ban. Gallivan notes that the dramatic visual impact of doctors wearing the blue armbands has attracted great media coverage. Similar events have been held by PSR chapters in Hartford, Connecticut, Bangor and Portland, Maine, and armbands have been shipped as far as California, Wisconsin and Florida. "When the idea was first brought up in January, some people said 'not armbands again,'" says Gallivan. "But then the term 'code blue' really caught on with the doctors."

PSR and a coalition of Boston-area groups also organized a 600-person rally at Faneuil Hall, complete with a six-foot-high replica of the test-ban resolution which was signed by the main speakers at the event. This PSR event, like so many others in the grass-roots test ban movement, was part of a large coalition effort, and it was very successful on a local level. The question remains, however: Can these grass-roots activities have any effect where it counts—at the national level?

National organizations are hoping that the sum of test ban activities will lend weight to lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C. "It is being used to build support for our legislative strategy," says Carroll. "The more success the resolution campaign has, the stronger our presence will be on the Hill." He is quick to add, however, that he does not feel the resolutions alone will create enough momentum for change. Other tactics, such as direct action, electoral work and a rejuvenated Great Peace March could also play a role. Says Carroll, "We must try to feed all of these approaches into a sharp wedge that gets the attention of Congress." □

Activism After Hours

Burnout (Part II): Romance and the Movement

BY HENRY EPSTEIN

Don Gardner met Patricia Murfin against the political backdrop of the '60s. Sixteen years later the couple is still together, living in Austin, Texas, with their two children, aged six and nine. "One of the saddest things I've witnessed is the number of divorces in the movement," Gardner says. While he notes that these break-ups were caused by any number of conflicts, "a big contributing factor is the amount of time and dedication activists have to put into their work.

"Sometimes," Gardner says, "the other person just can't take it."

Long days at the office. Little pay. Uncertainty about the impact of one's efforts. How do peace activists balance the temperamental demands of love and marriage—or even just dating—with the rigors of disarmament work?

Often, by combining business and pleasure. "For those of us who didn't grow up in activist families, a real problem is finding support from friends and family who don't understand our work or the commitment it entails," says one activist from Minnesota. "They feel that working the long hours for the low pay is crazy, and that we're being exploited. So we sometimes feel compelled to get our sexual, social and all other personal needs from within the movement."

Rose Marie Reed, a New York City activist who recently produced a public radio program on Star Wars, agrees that the hours and work are so demanding that "who you become friends with, and who you sleep with, tends to be from within the movement. Sometimes when I branch outside movement circles [and try to discuss antinuclear issues] people don't know what I'm talking about."

Such experiences account for the widespread concern among antinuclear activists about choosing a partner carefully. "It really helps if both people in a relationship are involved [in peace work]," says Wendy Forman, a family therapist and movement activist who has led workshops on burn-out for Pennsylvania freeze activists. "One couple I know split up largely because he was what I call a 'hyperactivist' and she wasn't in the movement." The hyperactivist is now seeing someone in the movement, Forman

reports, and their relationship appears to be far less strained.

Jennie Tichenor, president of the Nurses' Alliance for the Prevention of Nuclear War in New York City, recounts how she would wage "vicious, visceral" arguments with a recent boyfriend who was an international banker. Tichenor feels fortunate, she says, to have found her current boyfriend who is "in the movement, but not drowning in it. At least when we get together," she says, "we can buoy each other up."

Austin activist Don Gardner feels "lucky" because his partner, who has worked in the movement herself, is so supportive. "When I get depressed and think that there's no way we'll get rid of these thermonuclear devices, she says 'you can't give up—you must keep trying.' We both believe that we have to be doing something about the problem," Gardner says, "so there's an added spiritual and intellectual depth to our relationship."

This spiritual kinship is often the main component of a happy movement marriage, says Helen Mehr, who lives in Santa Clara, California, and has practiced clinical psychology for 44 years. (Mehr recently contributed a chapter entitled "Peacework and Your Mental Health" for an activists' handbook, *Working For Peace*, published by Impact Press in San Luis Obispo, Ca.) "I think that activism can actually *help* personal relationships—it gives people a meaning to life which isn't always available in the business world," Mehr says.

Lest the hundreds of activists married to conservative corporate executives think that divorce is inevitable, Mehr points out that the same persistance that goes into making a long-term commitment to the movement can also make marriages work. "I know several people who are married to conservatives," Mehr says, "and their relationships are thriving. They have strong motivation." And, Mehr points out, they may be fueled by the hope that some day they will "convert" their partners.

OUT OF DATES

Raoul Rosenberg, director of policy and legislation for Physicians for Social Responsibility in Washington, D.C., says that he doesn't "know anyone who believes that you need to sleep alone to transform U.S. nuclear policy." But activists not involved in steady relationships often complain that the low pay inherent in most movement work can take the fun out of dating.

"I'm living in an area in Brooklyn where my peers are buying condominiums and having children," says Glen Bibler, 46, a former fundraiser for the Downstate Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. "I hardly have enough money to date." The movement, Bibler believes, consists mainly of young people just out of college willing to work for low wages, and older volunteers living on retirement incomes. "I feel like I'm still in grad school: Chinese food, free movies, hoping the woman will pay her way," he says.

Ann Krumboltz, 30, grass-roots coordinator for the Union of Concerned Scientists in Washington, D.C., sees the same problem from a different perspective. She is beginning to think about marriage and having a family, but worries about pulling her own weight financially.

"Ideally, my future husband and I should be making the same amount of money," Krumboltz says, "but if he's from outside [the movement] he'll be making lots more." Her solution is to look for a man who can value her work on its merits, not on its pay.

And then there's the time factor; many single activists find that their packed schedules don't leave much room for romance. One male activist with the Detroit-area Freeze Campaign says that the sheer number of hours he spends on the job is "equivalent to a vow of celibacy."

But family therapist Wendy Forman has noticed the opposite trend. "A man at our state Freeze conference came to me and told me about the increasing amount of extra-marital and bisexual af-

LAURA CLICK

fairs going on among people he works with," she says. "This is something that can happen when you're working in an extremely close, intimate environment—a 24-hour-a-day job. It's sometimes hard for people to keep their sexuality under control or wraps."

This behavior may be partly due, Forman says, to people using movement work to escape from personal responsibilities and problems. "Making dinner or honoring an obligation to your girlfriend is not necessarily sexy," she says, "but working on even ordinary disarmament work has a certain intensity—a high. You're helping to save the world!"

Partners of movement workaholics often find themselves in a double bind, Forman says. "If they object—with good reason—to your not being around enough, you can turn around and say 'O.K., you want a nuclear war? I'll stay home and diaper the baby.'"

Since most of an activist's personal problems can be traced to excessively long work hours, Forman recommends what she calls "an unpopular solution—cutting down." Go on a strict "meeting diet," she says, and learn to leave the office at reasonable hours. For activists with persistent family or relationship problems, Forman recommends counseling. "Call Psychologists or Physicians for Social Responsibility," she says. "That way you're more likely to get a sympathetic therapist who will have a good understanding of your activism and the anti-nuclear issue."

One such therapist, Dr. Kenneth Porter, a PSR member and practicing psychiatrist in New York City, points out that "peace work is not a substitute for dating, falling in love or family responsibilities. It is a medium to satisfy other needs," like the desire to be more personally effective. "When activism does become a substitute [for relationships] people often discover it by themselves," Porter says. "When that happens, it's completely appropriate to take time off and come back replenished later at another level of involvement."

Activists who have maintained the healthiest personal relationships are those that don't use their work as a weapon to induce guilt in others, or to avoid emotional commitment. "They're the ones who are honest about their work—they admit that they get an enormous amount of personal satisfaction doing it," Forman says. "And they realize that their work does not absolve them from their responsibilities at home.

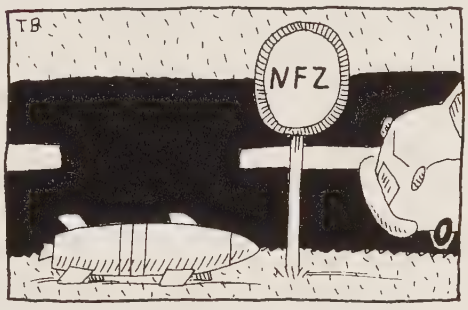
"The best thing activists can do is give time to the people in their lives who depend on them and love them," Forman concludes. "And this means realizing that we cannot all be Gandhi." □

Windy City Goes Nuclear-Free

By Ron Calogeras

In a surprising and unanimous city council vote in March, Chicago declared itself a nuclear free zone (NFZ), thus becoming the largest nuclear free city in the United States. Chicago's ordinance, which is legally binding, mandates the phasing out of any existing (and prohibition of any future) work on the "design, production, deployment, launching, maintenance or storage of nuclear weapons or their component parts within Chicago's limits."

Although the economy of the city will not be greatly affected by the law (Chicago has very little nuclear arms related business), its passage ensures that the future economic course of the city will not be directed by military spending. "The ordinance defines the economic development policy of Chicago, and protects the safety, health and morality of the people," says Brad Karkkainen, a member of the strategy committee of



TOM BLOOM

Nuclear Weapon-Free Chicago, a project of Metro Chicago Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). By not including weapons research and radioactive waste transportation in the ordinance, the city stopped short of overstepping the legal parameters set by the federal government, says Karkkainen. "However, the city does have the power to curtail business that is not wanted," he adds. "Neither Chicago nor the state of Illinois can gain from military spending. It does not create jobs, and the city needs job training, public transportation, and economic development."

The ordinance was not without critics, however. Illinois Governor James Thompson, who has lobbied for more defense contracts in his state, called the law "stupid and un-American" and *The New York Times* poked fun at it.

The history of Chicago's NFZ movement began in August of 1982, when a New Zealander named Terry Wall was touring the country trying to raise public consciousness about the effects of nuclear testing. One of his stops was Evanston, Illinois, where he talked to Methodist leaders. Soon after, the Wheaton United Methodist Church declared itself a "Holy Space of Sanctuary," or, in lay terms, a nuclear free zone. Church members designed a poster stamped with an NFZ logo on it which they planted in front of the building. The idea of declaring one's place of worship an NFZ rapidly caught on, and soon the Unitarian church down the street and the nearby Temple Beth Emet followed suit. Encouraged, Wheaton Methodist members made 3000 more posters and proceeded to put them up all over Evanston. By 1984 the posters found their way to Chicago where the idea again caught fire.

Dick Simpson, a former Chicago alderman and a board member of the local CALC chapter, proposed that the organization put all of its energies into pushing a binding NFZ ordinance through the city council. The potential for passage was there, as evidenced by a 1982 Cook County nuclear freeze referendum that passed with 75 percent of the Chicago vote. The prestigious law firm of Sachnoff, Weaver, and Rubenstein, retained by CALC to study the legality and limits of the proposal, confirmed its feasibility. Pro-NFZ petitions circulated by city churches and Catholic high schools played an integral role in building support for the measure. CALC also organized public hearings on the legislation, which served as a forum for a range of favorable testimony from economic, legal and scientific experts from the Chicago community.

At CALC's request, the city's Committee on Economic Development conducted a study on the financial ramifications of an NFZ declaration. The chairman of that committee, conservative Alderman Bernard Hansen, taking note of the strong grass-roots support for the measure, became a co-sponsor with liberal Alderman David Orr, who had been involved with the proposal from the beginning. Mike Quigley, an aide to Hansen, and a member of the strategy committee of Nuclear Weapon-Free Chicago, says "the strength of its language" convinced Hansen that the ordinance was meaningful and not just symbolic. His support of the measure unified the normally factional City Council, which passed it with a unanimous voice vote.

Major localities currently considering similar action, according to Nuclear Free America, the international NFZ clearinghouse in Baltimore, Maryland, include the states of Oregon and Rhode Island; Berkeley, California; Washington, D.C.; and Atlanta, Georgia. □

IDEAS THAT WORK

While the national press continues a virtual blackout of movement activities, many grass-roots activists are nonetheless gritting their teeth and getting down to the business of cultivating local media relations. And, judging from reports coming in from the field, persistence, coupled with increasingly sophisticated methods, is paying off.

One such method is to enlist sympathetic congresspeople to appear at press conferences. A Freeze group in New England successfully used the tactic in a summit campaign and, more recently, to spark coverage for a series of comprehensive test ban (CTB) vigils. Members of the Freeze Campaign in Connecticut's third congressional district, realizing that the press would not necessarily leap at the chance to cover their modest gatherings, recruited Congressman Bruce Morrison as a media hook. That, coupled with inadvertently brilliant timing (the press conferences happened to be held on the day of the first U.S. nuclear test since the extension of the Soviet moratorium), garnered comprehensive coverage by television crews, radio, and local newspapers. For example, WELI, a popular radio station in New Haven, ran excerpts from the conferences every hour for the entire weekend.

When organizers in Cleveland heard of Connecticut's success, they staged a press conference with their own representative, Edward Feighan. "We wanted to raise the visibility of a CTB," says Monica Green, executive director of the city's Freeze chapter. "We thought we'd use a press conference to kick off a test ban petition drive and announce Feighan's support for Pat Schroeder's CTB bill, but we knew we needed something else—something more visual."

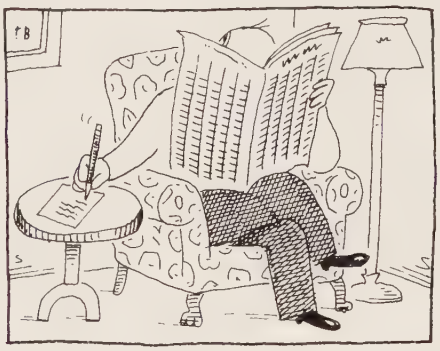
A couple of weeks before the press conference organizers met with Feighan's staff and decided to augment the conference format with a visual display of the Freeze Campaign's "Geneva Watch," which keeps a tally of the number of warheads built by the superpowers since the arms talks began in March 1985. It took volunteers three days to glue 2,824 styrofoam cups (donated by Feighan's office) to posterboards, which were then mounted on the steps of Cleveland's Old Arcade, where the press conference was held.

"We were covered by two television stations, two wire services, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, radio stations and smaller papers around the state," says Green.

Adds Daniel Clark, Feighan's district representative in Cleveland: "Press conferences like this are a great way of reinvigorating antinuclear issues. We have to keep both the freeze and the CTB before the public eye; otherwise, the 'Red Terror' picture that the President paints will overcome us all."

* * *

If your representative out-Reagans Reagan, there are other ways to penetrate the press. Ros Will at the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP) in New York City, for example, has been running a successful Letter to the Editor (LTE) Project since the fall of 1984. Will now coordinates 75 volunteers in 26 states from California to Vermont who monitor their local papers and write letters—mentioning CEP and using its data—that respond to articles or editorials.



TOM BLOOM

"It's a great way to reach people in small towns," says Will, who estimates that between 30 and 40 percent of the letters generated by volunteers get printed. And the LTE Project has other advantages. Not only do writers get to say their piece, says Will, but CEP gets coverage, which results in requests for information, new members, and financial donations.

CEP occasionally sends out "action alerts" to stimulate letters on timely issues like a CTB. Through a clipping service, it monitors papers across the country and urges volunteers to respond to particularly offensive articles. "Papers are much more likely to print a letter that's targeted to a specific piece," advises Will, "especially if you use a particular phrase from it."

The LTE Project offers volunteers a free six-month membership to the organization. To become a volunteer, or if you'd like tips on how to run a similar project for your group, contact Will at CEP, 30 Irving Pl, New York, NY 10003 (212) 420-1133.

* * *

From Wilmington, Ohio, Steven Post, a staff member at the Ohio Freeze Campaign, writes about another successful media strategy: submit opinion pieces to newspapers. "Two Wilmington College peace activists wrote an opinion piece about PSR and the Nobel Prize which they offered to papers all over the country," Post writes. "Four of them printed it—combined circulation of over one million. Two of them paid for it!" Encouraged, Post wrote an anti-SDI opinion piece and offered it to papers around the state. The *Wilmington News-Journal* and the conservative Dayton *Journal Herald* printed it.

The strategy has advantages over submitting letters to the editor, says Post, since opinion pieces carry more weight and can be sent to more than one paper (as long as their markets don't overlap). For more tips on how to successfully place opinion pieces write to Post, who has access to the addresses and phone numbers of every newspaper in the country, at 640 South Ohio Ave., Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253-7867.

* * *

A final media idea comes from Helen Seidman, president of the Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Her husband, Lou Seidman, she writes, "decided to be a part of a fast-breaking news story, instead of reacting after the fact. So the evening that the story of the Gorbachev offer [to banish all nuclear weapons by the year 2000] broke, he called a reporter at his local paper [the *Willoughby News Herald*]. He was told to call back at seven the next morning. He did, explaining that he wanted to make a statement, on behalf of his group, in response to the Gorbachev offer. They took the statement over the telephone. He had just made the early morning deadline. When the afternoon paper came out, reporting for the first time on the Gorbachev offer, there, as a part of the front-page article, was Lou's statement."

So don't hesitate to call your local paper on breaking news, and make sure you do it in the form of an official statement so it will be taken seriously. Activists should contact Helen Seidman, who is a media expert, at 640 S Ohio Ave., Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253-7867 or 4258. **—Renata Rizzo**

Resources

By Ann Marie Cunningham

SLIDES AND FILMSTRIPS

Deadly Connections: Intervention and the Arms Race. This 30-minute slide show covers the history of first-strike policy and of nuclear blackmail, as used by the United States and other countries. Noam Chomsky points out that nuclear war is likely to grow out of smaller wars: "Tensions and conflicts in the Third World, which are often the results of intervention, will engage the superpowers." (Slide show rents for $20 plus shipping from American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge, MA 02140 617-661-6130.)

Women and Children First: The Human Costs of the Arms Race. This 30-minute filmstrip argues that the "hidden costs" of the arms race include infant mortality, child abuse, homelessness, hunger, and poverty-stricken old age—burdens which fall mainly on women and children. The filmstrip comes with a guide that suggests ways to use it in discussion and action groups. ($35 from Teleketics, 1229 South Santee St, Los Angeles, CA 90015.)

BUDGET

Local Media Briefing Packet #2. Just in time for this year's budget showdown comes material for activists who want "to reach local media and contribute to the public debate about the budget." The packet includes background on the budget process itself, military spending and domestic "alternatives," plus tables, analyses, op ed commentaries, and suggestions for using the packet. (Available for $2.25 from the American Friends Service Committee's National Disarmament Program, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 215-241-7171.)

BOOKS

Star Wars, edited by E.P. Thompson. This book, which began as a booklet by British disarmament activists Ben and E.P. Thompson, on the history, technology, and politics of SDI, has been expanded into a paperback. New chapters cover European responses to Star Wars, assessments of Soviet space-related military developments, and the effect of SDI on arms control agreements. The proceeds from this extremely useful and well-written overview of Star Wars go to European Nuclear Disarmament (END). (Pantheon paper, $5.95.)

Beyond the Bomb: Living Without Nuclear Weapons, by Mark Sommer. Foreword by Kenneth E. Boulding, drawings by Ed Koren. This handsome "field guide to alternative strategies for building a stable peace" is organized like a handbook, with common questions and definitions highlighted. It includes chapters on world order, nonviolence, peace research, alternative defense, and other relatively unexplored means of maintaining peace. ($7.95 paper Expro Press, distributed by Talman, Inc., 150 Fifth Ave, New York, NY 10011 212-620-3182.)

GUIDES

Working for Peace: A Handbook of Practical Psychology and Other Tools, edited by Neil Wollman. This guide to surviving as a peaceworker combines expert advice on how to avoid burn-out, with practical tips on how to run a meeting, form coalitions, and prevent arguments from polarizing your co-workers. ($9.95 paperback, Impact Publishers, P.O. Box 1094, San Luis Obispo, CA 93406.)

The Politics of Star Wars, by Jerome Grossman. In this booklet, Grossman, president of the Council for a Livable World, pinpoints Star Wars' political usefulness (it appeals to the "growing nationalism of the U.S. public" and diverts it from the difficult domestic problems facing the Reagan Administration). Grossman believes, however, that "each of the factors favoring Star Wars has a built-in countervailing force. The most powerful is the enormous cost of the program, already funded at nearly $3 billion a year. As the cost escalates, there will be political trouble." (Free from Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 20 Park Plaza, Boston MA 02116.)

CARDS

Nuclear Free Postcards. Today, 109 American cities and counties—plus many schools and churches—are nuclear free zones. Thirty-two of them have legally binding ordinances, some with divestment clauses and monetary penalties. To encourage the spread of the movement, the Nuclear Free Zone Registry wants you to use their postcards, which feature graceful line drawings of the farms, shops, schools, churches, and nature preserves that have been declared nuclear free zones. (The cards are available with a donation of $25 or more, or they are on sale for $3 for a set of 8, $5 for 16, from Nuclear Free Zone Registry, 28222 Stonehouse Rd, Lake Elsinore, CA 92330 714-674-6576.) □

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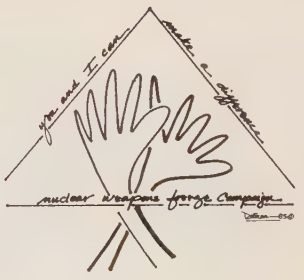

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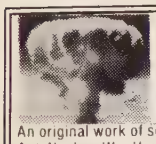

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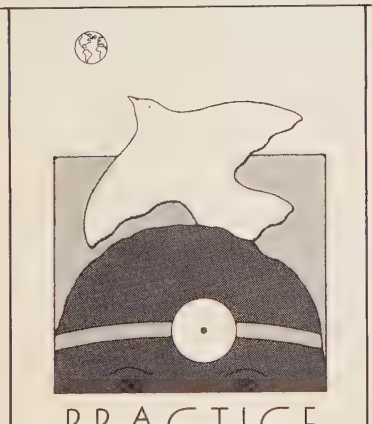

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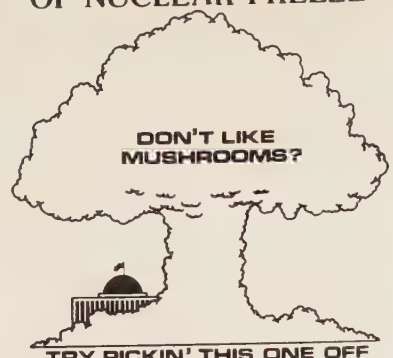

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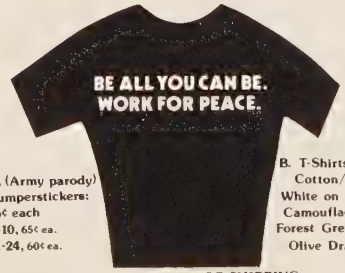

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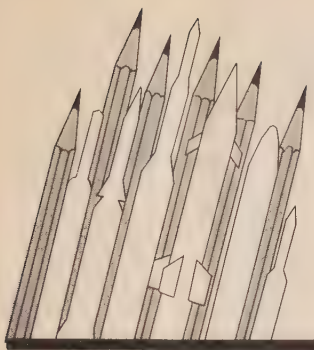

DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

MAY/JUNE 1986 VOL. I, NO. 2

What We Know About Arms Race Is More Than a Matter of Opinion

Half the American public does not know that the United States is the only nation to have used a nuclear weapon in war, according to a poll conducted jointly by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media and the Roper Organization. The results of the poll raise a number of questions about how much the public really knows about war and peace issues—questions that should interest news organizations far more than they do.

To test public knowledge, the Center designed two questions that Roper included in a recent 42-item opinion survey. In the first, Roper's 1,993 respondents were given four statements about the use of nuclear weapons and asked to choose the correct one. Forty-nine percent knew that the U.S. "is the only nation to have ever used nuclear weapons against another nation in time of war." Eleven percent believed we never dropped the bomb, 10 percent thought the U.S. and the Soviets both had used nuclear weapons, and another 13 percent said that other nations had employed nuclear weapons during a war. Seventeen percent said they didn't know.

The second question tested familiarity with the "nuclear triad." Sixty percent knew the correct answer, that the U.S. has some missiles based on land, on submarines and other ships, and on planes. The relatively high percentage of correct responses here may come from a flaw in the question's design. The correct choice was the fourth one read to the respondents and it contained in its wording the first three choices, in effect offering "all of the above" as an answer. It therefore became the "safest" choice for people who knew little or nothing about the nuclear triad because it was the most different from the other three.

People who are better educated and earn more money were more often correct. Seventy-one percent of those earning over $35,000 knew that the U.S. is the only nation to have dropped the bomb, compared to 47 percent of those earning under $15,000. On that same question, 68 percent of those with some college education and 61 percent of high school graduates had the correct answer, compared to 44 percent of those without a high school diploma. On both questions men were more likely to be correct than women and Republicans more likely than Democrats. The Midwest and West were better informed than the Northeast and especially the South. Union members and those judged by Roper to be "politically active" were better informed than average. Blacks and working women were more likely to be wrong in their answers.

Testing for knowledge raises a number of questions about the much more common practice of surveying public opinion. What people know may be an important clue to what they believe. For example, are those who mistakenly believe that the Soviets have dropped the bomb more likely to call the Soviet government belligerent and untrustworthy? The Roper Report suggests that the same groups that tend to answer incorrectly on the knowledge questions are also those who say that the U.S. nuclear arsenal should be "stronger" than Russia's. Blacks favor "stronger" over "just as strong" by 43 to 36 percent, while the population as a whole feels differently, favoring "just as strong" (41 percent) over "stronger" (38 percent.) Employed females (which includes part-time workers) score lower than women as a whole and the rest of the public on the two knowledge questions, and, like blacks, favor "stronger" over "just as strong" (40 to 35 percent). The same pattern holds for geographic regions. The Midwest does the best on the knowledge questions and is the least likely (27 percent) to believe that stronger is better. The South, by contrast, performs the poorest on the knowledge questions and is the most likely (45 percent) to want greater rather than equal strength.

These are only correlations, of course, which do not necessarily prove anything. But they at least suggest a different way of deciphering trends in public opinion. In writing about the results of polls the press often links opinions to other opinions as a way of explaining why certain groups believe what they do. David Shipler of *The New York Times,* in reporting the results of a pre-summit poll by the *Times* and CBS News last November, asked whether those who felt more positively about Gorbachev were also more likely to anticipate progress at Geneva (they were). Shipler's reasoning

INSIDE:

Unlikely Leads: By Roy Blount Jr., Art Buchwald, James Fallows, Molly Ivins, Neil Postman and Thomas Powers • Covering Mikhail Gorbachev

is familiar: certain beliefs (Gorbachev is different from other Soviet leaders) may be the logical basis for other beliefs (therefore something may come out of Geneva).

But it might be more defensible to argue that knowledge or lack of knowledge is a sounder explanation for how people arrive at their opinions. A November 1985 *Newsweek* poll showed that people in the South are the most likely to view the Soviet Union as an "evil empire," (67 percent compared to 53 percent of the public as a whole). As reported above, the South is also the most likely to err on the two knowledge questions Roper asked. This is the kind of connection that could be explored more fully if knowledge were tested as often as opinion. Do people in the South know the least about the Soviet Union? Do ignorance and belligerence go together?

Most frequently news organizations ask people whether they have heard or read about a certain issue. Those who say they have heard or read "a lot" or "some" are then asked a series of opinion questions. What is tested here is not really knowledge but awareness, or rather, a self-report about awareness. This equates claiming to have read or heard "a lot" with actually absorbing information. However dubious such an equation, awareness questions are often useful. The *Times*/CBS pre-summit poll showed that 58 percent of the public thinks the "Star Wars" system is likely to work. This poll did not include a "have you read or heard about the president's program" question. However, an NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll conducted a month earlier did. Forty-five percent of the sample said they had not heard or read enough about "Star Wars" to have an opinion. The November *Times*/CBS poll showed 15 percent with no opinion on "Star Wars." But this was an extremely misleading figure, for it was already clear from the October NBC/*WSJ* poll that, if asked, a lot of people (45 percent) will admit to not knowing enough to form an opinion.

On the question of "Star Wars," then, there is a 30 percent gap between one poll's "no opinion" figure and another's. This 30 percent indicates the size of the "phantom public," those people who do not know enough to have an opinion but who are reluctant to say so unless asked. Even more revealing, perhaps, are the changes in such figures. After the summit, during which there was a good deal of discussion about "Star Wars" as a bargaining chip, *more* people reported that they did not have enough information on "Star Wars" to form an opinion. In a December NBC/*WSJ* poll, a majority (52 percent) said they had not heard or read enough to have an opinion, compared with 45 percent in October. The increase certainly conflicts with the assumption of a constantly progressing public debate, during which everyone will eventually hear enough or read enough about public problems to make informed decisions. Public awareness may actually deteriorate, even when an issue gets a lot of ink and air time.

A sounder way to test for public knowledge is not to rely on the public's estimation of how much it has heard or read, but to ask factual questions and see how many people get them right. News organizations are much less likely to try this approach. Instead they often supply the knowledge necessary to have an opinion. For example, a November 1985 *Los Angeles Times* poll told people that President Reagan plans to spend $26 billion over the next five years for research on "Star Wars." The poll then asked whether this was "too much," "about right" or "not enough." Why not simply ask if people knew about the $26 billion, or if they had any notion of the cost of "Star Wars" in relation to other programs? Without knowing what people know it is difficult to interpret what they believe. For example, what meaning is to be given to the same poll's finding that 58 percent of the public favors going ahead with "Star Wars," when the poll did not ask what people know about the program or its cost?

When knowledge tests are given the results are often depressing, which may explain why so few news organizations use them. An April 15 *Times*/CBS poll found that 49 percent of Americans did not know what kind of regime governed Nicaragua and that an additional 19 percent thought it a right-wing dictatorship. A recent Roper finding published in *USA Today* showed that 65 percent of the public could not name two senators from their state. A 1984 Public Agenda Foundation report showed that 90 percent of the public did not know that the U.S. had failed to ratify the SALT II agreement while the Soviets had. A 1982 *Times*/CBS poll reported that 70 percent of the population didn't know that Reagan opposes a nuclear freeze. At present these figures are merely isolated, if sensational, clues to an important national news story—the role of knowledge (or ignorance) in the formation of public opinion. The press should pursue this story vigorously. For what theory of news value automatically makes opinion more newsworthy than knowledge?

—Jay Rosen

Why Not Declare The N.Y. Times A Nuclear Proliferation Zone?

In a third editorial opposing a comprehensive nuclear test ban ("The Test Ban Shibboleth," March 31) *The New York Times* observed grimly that in "the battle for public opinion, Mr. Gorbachev seems to be advancing easily." Too easily for the *Times*. So as a molder of public opinion, the paper has done its best to slow Gorbachev's march. In its recent coverage of the arms race, particularly in March and April, the paper has sent clear signals to its readers that Gorbachev's siren song of peace should be stoutly resisted, as should the views of those Americans who question the president's nuclear policy.

One such American who has been cold-shouldered by the *Times* is Dr. Bernard Lown, who accepted the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize along with his Soviet counterpart, Dr. Yevgeny

Chazov, on behalf of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. IPPNW was honored for its efforts to educate the public about the certain destruction of health care systems during a nuclear war. The organization has also strongly supported a comprehensive nuclear test ban, putting it at odds with the Reagan administration and the editorial position of the *Times*.

Much of the American press views Dr. Lown and IPPNW with a jaundiced eye, portraying him and the other American doctors involved as dupes of the Soviets. The press has withheld from them the usual status and credibility accorded winners of the Nobel Peace Prize. The *Times* devoted more space to the controversy surrounding Dr. Chazov's signature on a letter denouncing Andrei Sakharov than it did to explaining what IPPNW had accomplished to merit the award.

When Dr. Lown returned last December from the Soviet Union following a lengthy meeting with Gorbachev, at which they discussed an extension of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, *Times* reporter Fox Butterfield asked Lown for an interview. According to Conn Nugent, executive director of IPPNW, Lown put off interview requests from *The Boston Globe* and other news organizations for the chance to break into the *Times*. Nugent says Butterfield interviewed Lown for more than two hours. No article ever appeared. Butterfield told Lown that the paper had killed the story, a rare occurrence for him in his years at the *Times*. (Butterfield has been covering events in the Philippines and has been unavailable for comment.)

Another example of the *Times* antipathy to domestic critics of the president appeared March 16: a mocking editorial aimed at the Chicago City Council. The council had the effrontery to declare the city a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The *Times* could easily have ignored the vote, or explored what discontents had fueled it. Instead, the paper challenged the council to also declare Chicago "A Corruption-Free Zone," "A Machine-Gun-Free Zone," and "A Snow-Free Zone." Max Frankel, editorial page editor, has refused to discuss the matter.

The paper's steadfast support of the president in opposing a moratorium on testing crept into the news pages a week later when the U.S. exploded a nuclear device in Nevada. This potentially important test seemed likely to convince the Soviets to end their moratorium, as they had been threatening to do if the U.S. continued testing. Both WNBC-TV in New York and NBC network news judged it significant enough to lead their newscasts on March 22, and *The Boston Globe* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* led their Sunday papers with it on the 23rd. Readers of the *Times*, however, found the story on page 8, reported by Reuters. Similarly, the Soviet response to the Nevada test appeared the next day in a six-inch AP story buried on page 7. By contrast, when the Soviets announced on April 11 that they felt free to resume testing, the *Times* played it on page one.

Earlier in April, in another decision on the allocation of space, David Shipler was given but 10 inches to report the findings of two panels of arms control experts — one American and one European — studying the value of a comprehensive test ban treaty. The panels concluded that a treaty is essential to halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons ("2 Panels Ask Atom Test Halt," April 4, page 2). Most of Shipler's short article was devoted to naming the members of the panels and recounting the reasons for U.S. opposition to the Gorbachev proposal. Gerard C. Smith, the chairman of the American panel and an experienced arms control negotiator, received only two sentences to outline his panel's objections to continued testing.

Headline writers at the *Times* have also joined the fray. On March 16, Elaine Sciolino wrote a sober account of how travel by Soviet diplomats is limited in the New York City area. The piece was occasioned by the administration's announcement that the size of the Soviet U.N. delegation was to be cut because of suspicions that many of the Soviets are spies. The headline on her story read: "How the Russians Cause a Nuisance By Their Presence."

On March 21, three *Times* reporters were granted an exclusive interview by President Reagan, the transcript of which was published on Sunday the 23rd. Questions on the superpower relationship take up less than ten percent of the interview, despite the then-impending underground nuclear test and its implications for a test ban. The president was first asked, "Do you feel personally deceived" by Gorbachev now that he might be backing away from a second summit? The spin on the question couldn't have been more to the administration's liking. Succeeding questions pressed the president ever-so-gently on whether there was time remaining in his administration to achieve some arms control breakthrough. No question was put to Reagan about the nuclear test.

Some reporters and columnists are swimming against the management tide at the paper, and their work continues to make the *Times* required reading. Flora Lewis has focused on the selective leaking of information that distorts the S.D.I. debate. Michael Gordon has been on top of the verification issue and the degree to which the U.S. can monitor the strength of Soviet underground weapons tests. David Sanger and William Broad have contributed much to the debate over whether the S.D.I. defensive shield can work. And Tom Wicker has challenged administration assertions at every turn. Their work appears all the more remarkable given the climate at the paper.

Yet if a reader were searching for one newspaper likely to present an aggressive and detailed account of the arms race and U.S.-Soviet relations, one would turn to a number of papers before the *Times*. *The Boston Globe*, *The Washington Post* and *The Los Angeles Times* are all, at present, more instructive alternatives.

In "The Test Ban Shibboleth," the *Times* argued that for the administration "to hang toughest on the items the Russians want most [such as a test ban] is not a bad tactic provided the negotiations are sincerely pursued. And if the Administration were not sincere, there is no way to make it so except at the ballot box." The *Times*, however, ignores its own role in this simple civics lesson. An aggressive press can force an administration to be sincere, or at least honest, about any policy, including its nuclear policy. If the press does not explore the administration's sincerity about arms control, the public will have no reason to demand change through the ballot box.

— *David M. Rubin*

An Identified Source Said Today...

Because the coverage of war and peace is so often unimaginative and predictable, we asked several friends of Deadline *to write news leads they thought* unlikely *to appear in the mainstream media. We print some of them below and urge our readers to try their own hands at this fanciful reporting. Anything goes, so long as the subject is arms control, the peace movement and/or Soviet-American relations in general? The best inventions will be published in future issues and their authors may choose as a prize any one of the four books that received 1986 Olive Branch Awards (see p. 7). Send your submissions to* Deadline, *1021 Main Building, New York University, New York, N.Y. 10003.*

By Roy Blount Jr.

Asked point blank yesterday whether he had "round heels for the military," President Ronald Reagan conceded that he had. In an intense press conference which focused on the president's personality, Reagan was also asked, "How can you stand up to the Russians if you can't stand up to the Pentagon?"

"They're all...generals. And admirals," replied Reagan, in reference to U.S. military leaders. "They're like John Ford."

The President said he had always longed to work under Ford, the director of such classic Westerns as *Stagecoach* and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon*, but Ford had rebuffed his approaches.

By Art Buchwald

President Reagan revealed today that he has decided when he goes he is going to take everyone with him. He said, "The only way the Russians will understand we really mean business is if we all die." He also talked about prayer in school.

By James Fallows

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger said today that America's military build-up must continue, even though "none of us has any idea what we're doing with the money." Mr. Weinberger said that, since the beginning of the Reagan administration, military spending had risen by more than 50 percent, "but there's no sense or order to it—we're just putting it wherever we can."

According to the secretary, the lack of guiding principle applies from top to the bottom in the Pentagon. "We're preparing for wars we'll never fight or couldn't survive," he said, "and we're doing it with machines that don't even work." He added, "but we don't care." Mr. Weinberger made his remarks to reporters en route to the Forrestal ward at the National Institute of Mental Health.

By Molly Ivins

The last words ever heard on earth were, "The computer is down . . ."

By Neil Postman

At his press conference today, President Reagan startled reporters by remarking that the United States has made many errors in judgment in the past several years, including the years of his own administration. "Like all governments," he said, "we have been intransigent and stupid, and have failed to understand that the principal threat to ourselves is not the Russians but a nuclear holocaust." The president quoted Walt Kelly's comic strip *Pogo*, saying, "We have met the enemy and he is us." He added that governments are always a danger to ordinary citizens since government leaders are mostly interested in power. He expressed the hope that in the future his own administration, and his unbridled ambition, will not be an impediment to an intelligent and humane resolution of the arms race.

By Thomas Powers

The experts have been shaking their heads in amazement over President Reagan's "Star Wars" program ever since he announced it in March 1983. With the exception of scientists directly employed by the U.S. government, they are all but unanimous in agreeing that it will cost a mint and won't work as advertised. But the administration shows every sign of really wanting it, deep down. And the Russians show every sign of really being afraid of it, deep down. Why do we want something so doubtful, and why are they afraid of it if it won't work?

Gorbachev As Corporate CEO: The Making and Trashing of an Image

Long before Mikhail Gorbachev assumed command in the Kremlin, the American press eagerly awaited him. For seven decades, U.S. correspondents in Moscow have yearned for a thoroughly Western leader to emerge from Russia's Oriental darkness, the sort of executive who could sit at the head of ITT or RCA or Dixie Brands, a man they could deal with. For an instant in 1983, Yuri Andropov seemed to fill the bill, with his fondness for jazz, Scotch and other civilized pursuits. But there was the bothersome problem of his KGB past; besides, he died. And so almost immediately did his successor, Constantin Chernenko, though not before *The Dallas Morning News* had a chance to call him a "walking corpse."

Then, at last, Mother Russia gave the press corps what it longed for—a vigorous, youthful, well-informed, outgoing, nicely tailored, well-shod CEO. Gorbachev traveled the West with a smart and stylish wife and an entourage of smiling aides. His energy and obvious political determination were nearly overwhelming. Well before last November's Geneva summit, Hedrick Smith reported in *The New York Times* (Sept. 12) that a delegation of U.S. politicians had found the new Soviet leader "a seasoned pro with a surprising feel for the idiom and style of American politics . . . [a] clear mastery of the issues and [a] knack for lawyerly give and take, unexpected for a Communist party leader."

Yet for all the gaping fascination, a review of reporting on the new Soviet leader from a half dozen major dailies, the news magazines and network television suggests that strong biases remain. Most journalists writing about Soviet–American relations are up on a high wire trying to be honest and cagily anti-communist at the same time. Thus, as Gorbachev's Western personality began to glow too brightly, many reporters started worrying about the influence of his insidious "charm offensive" on a susceptible American and European public. Constant discrediting allusions to Gorbachev's "public relations" skills warned viewers and readers that his seeming candor concealed deliberate falsehoods. Since the press tends to equate public relations with purposeful deception, calling Gorbachev a PR expert was virtually the same as calling him a liar.

This dismissive attitude was particularly noticeable in network reporting. As the Gorbachev-Mitterand talks began last fall in Paris, ABC's Moscow bureau chief Walter Rodgers speculated that Gorbachev had gone to France to kick at the "weak link in the western alliance." Several TV reporters said Gorbachev "warned" and one said he "threatened" hard times internationally if President Reagan proceeded with the Strategic Defense Initiative. The translation of his remarks suggests that "predicted" might have been more accurate. As *The New York Times* reported Oct. 3, Gorbachev said that "Star Wars" threatened to transform the arms race, projecting "military rivalry into extra-atmospheric space, as if we lacked it on earth. As long as the instigators of this enterprise stubbornly continue down the perilous path that they have traced, the world will face a tough time."

The anchors never tired of reminding viewers that television itself was a target of Soviet scheming, describing Gorbachev as the first Russian politician who understood how TV could be used. CBS's Dan Rather said Gorbachev "must come across looking like a million rubles to a global audience." That might have been true, but such observations left the distinct impression that much of the press corps was beginning to view Gorbachev as little more than an articulate, personable and adroit version of the stone-faced bureaucrats they had hoped he would supplant. NBC's Jim Bitterman said Gorbachev was a "master at dressing up the classic Soviet line in ways that might be appealing to the West." His colleague, Andrea Mitchell, reported Oct. 3 that "experts" had concluded that PR was the chief ingredient of the new leader's arms control proposals.

When Rather asked the Soviet leader in Paris about Jews being prevented from leaving the U.S.S.R., Gorbachev's "eyes tightened, and he simply didn't answer the question." This characterization supposes that he should have, that as a modern Western leader he should come clean (never mind that most Western politicians seldom do). But Gorbachev's Western persona is an invention of the media. And when Gorbachev failed to live up to it only one other identity remained: tight-lipped, hard-eyed communist boss.

By the time the Paris talks ended, Gorbachev was pictured in retreat. In one reporter's words, he had been "rebuffed by the French," language that stretched somewhat President Mitterand's refusal to announce on the spot that he would negotiate with the Russians on medium-range missiles. ABC's Sam Donaldson said with some satisfaction that President Reagan had "scored back" by replying to some of Gorbachev's statements. ABC's George Will did manage something of a backhanded compliment, suggesting that Gorbachev might drown the West in its own ignorance by concentrating solely on arms control, "which people can barely understand."

Back in Moscow, Gorbachev seemed to revert to classic Kremlin behavior. Highly informed about the West only a few weeks before, now he was seen as a man gripped by powerful prejudices. Philip Taubman, writing from Moscow for the *Times* last Nov. 15, reported that he regarded the U.S. as an "implacable foe" controlled by "wealthy capitalists and conservative business interests." Gorbachev believed "Star

Wars" was the toy of a "profit-hungry military-industrial complex." This was page-one news, notwithstanding the fact that millions of Americans believe the same thing. More than one newspaper does, too, including *The Boston Globe*, which not long before Taubman's alarm warned editorially that the "great sinkhole in space" beckoned the arms contractors.

The Taubman piece was one of several reports appearing before and after the November Geneva summit in which Gorbachev was portrayed as an ignorant and opinionated adversary of the U.S. In a Dec. 2 piece, Gary Lee of *The Washington Post* wrote that in "a manner reminiscent of Nikita Khrushchev, Gorbachev has fashioned a reputation for combating his American interlocutors with scathing descriptions of a flawed and doomed U.S. political system." Throughout, Lee presented Gorbachev's disagreements with the Reagan Administration as a matter of thick-wittedness, citing "western analysts" who said the Soviet leader really just didn't understand S.D.I. The Gorbachev who emerges from Lee's piece sounds like a *babushka*, not a slick public relations wizard.

Helmut Schmidt, the former West German chancellor, said after the Paris talks that Gorbachev had carried off "a magnificent piece of diligent public relations." Yet his charms now no longer charm us and as a communicator he is so convincing that we believe nothing he says. As the two superpowers jockey toward the next summit, the U.S. press seems determined once again to fall back on the old stereotypes: Russian leaders as immovable, deceptive, dangerous men. That our own leaders, very much including the present one, have often been immovable, deceptive and dangerous is rarely factored into the equation.

Covering the Soviet leadership and the closed society it governs is indisputably a difficult assignment. But at a time when many Moscow correspondents speak Russian and are better schooled than ever before, there is no excuse for the amount of shallow journalism that surfaces every day. Nor need tougher, more independent and imaginative reporting mean abandoning the skepticism required in covering any government, as two excellent articles in *The Wall Street Journal* demonstrated last Dec. 26.

Written by Samuel Pisar and Judy Shelton, they analyzed, as well as daily journalism has, the obstacles to reform in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev and the new generation of leaders in the Kremlin, Pisar wrote, know that the choice before them is fateful: "either to face up to the challenge of an advanced economy . . . or isolate themselves in an armed fortress condemned to obsolescence. We, too, must decide what we want; to make it easier for Russia to evolve into a more modern, open and humane society, or to push it against the wall, hoping it will explode under the weight of its problems and that we will remain unscathed."

Such thoughtful articles along with books written by correspondents returned from Moscow suggests that both reporters and the public benefit greatly from a breathing spell. In the March 16 *Washington Post*, Dusko Doder, the paper's Moscow correspondent from 1981 to 1985, offered some perceptive observations about Gorbachev's desire to reorganize the Soviet economy. Gorbachev's strategy, Doder wrote, is "economic de-Stalinization. He believes that the Soviet system, although a superior form of social and economic organization, has failed to develop its true potential because it was based on the principle of coercion," which deformed the system.

Newspapers ought to solicit much more reporting and analysis from writers like Pisar, Shelton and Doder and offer far less "news" written on deadline, which only invites oversimplification and stereotypes. In 1920, Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz published in *The New Republic* a devastating criticism of American reporting on Russia after the revolution. They found the journalism careless, inaccurate and full of wishful thinking. The U.S. press may not be as slipshod today, but a strong strain of reflexive anti-communism still muddies much reporting. And the desire to press Gorbachev into a comforting Western mold shows that the wishful thinking continues as well.

—Michael Kirkhorn

Cruise Missile Crashes in Canada A Crashing Bore to U.S. Press

Last Jan. 22, a B–52 lifted off and launched a cruise missile on a 1,550 mile test flight, the first of four free-flight trials then planned for this year over northwestern Canada. The next day, Canadian Forces Captain Ross Hicks held a press conference. He said the flight of the unarmed missile "terminated five minutes earlier than planned" and admitted that neither of the two parachutes opened to ease the 22-foot-long missile down. Officials also conceded that the weapon dropped 7.4 miles short of its target. Still, military officials called the test, which had also been delayed a day because of a fuel-pump problem, a success.

Canadian peace activists and many members of the House of Commons thought otherwise. In Ottawa, Associate Defense Minister Harvie Andre drew laughter in the house when he said the missile "completed its mission perfectly." After-

wards he told reporters that in "a war situation [the missiles are] not supposed to come in for a gentle landing." External Affairs Minister Joe Clark began a policy statement on arms control by asserting that Canada will continue to allow cruise missile tests because it is important that the country "not breach the solidarity of the West." Liberal Party members, however, suggested a re-evaluation of the Canadian role. *The Globe and Mail* of Toronto, perhaps the country's leading daily, ran two front-page stories on Jan. 24 about the missile crash. One covered Clark's speech, the other examined the accident and the ensuing investigation. In all, the stories took up 31 column-inches.

A survey of the eleven U.S. dailies we monitor at the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media revealed considerably less interest. *The Los Angeles Times, USA Today, The Green Bay Press-Gazette, The Wall Street Journal, The San Diego Union, The Washington Post* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* ignored the crash. *The Chicago Tribune, The Washington Times, The Boston Globe* and *The New York Times* devoted a total of eight column-inches to the story, using wire service copy in each instance. The *Tribune* and *The New York Times* reported that the missile fell ten miles from its target, *The Washington Times* put it off by 35 miles and the *Globe* made it seven miles.

Residents of Wandering River, Alberta, claimed that the missile wandered within 1.9 miles of their homes, skimming less than 350 yards above the ground. Officials had said that the missile would not fly within five miles of any built-up area. Understandably, some Canadians worry about a missile that doesn't land where, how or when it is supposed to. On Jan. 24, *The Vancouver Sun* ran an editorial, "Misguided missile," that asked, ". . . couldn't the tests be carried out where there are no people and no risk at all to human life?"

On Feb. 25, the second 1986 cruise test fizzled. This time the engine failed to ignite after the missile was released from the B–52 and the weapon nose-dived more than 11,000 yards into the Beaufort Sea. "It fell with the trajectory of a brick," said Harvie Andre, the bullish associate defense minister. Captain Hicks, the Canadian Forces spokesman, said the missile crashed a "long way" from populated areas, but pleaded security reasons for not being more specific.

According to the University of Calgary's Centre for Strategic Studies, almost 30 percent of the 150 cruise test flights in the last ten years have ended with malfunctions. Operation Dismantle, a Canadian anti-nuclear group, recently cited U.S. military records as showing 44 failures in 109 flights. And even Captain Jim Berg, a spokesman for the U.S. Strategic Air Command, concedes that the two recent Canadian flops were the seventh and eighth in 54 tests.

Despite these statistics and the nervousness of many Canadians, the U.S. ambassador to that country, Thomas Niles, told the Canadian Club of Ottawa on Feb. 27 that there "was no danger in the tests to anybody . . . Sometimes they don't work, that's why you test them." He added that the tests would resume.

The results of the investigation into the first failure were made public the day before the second one. The $2.32 million weapon crashed because it ran out of fuel, not because its two parachutes failed to open. The missile faced head winds

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of up to 25 miles an hour and fell 34 miles short of its target, not 7.4 miles as originally announced. Fred Harrop, a U.S. Air Force major, conceded that officials had failed to monitor the missile's fuel consumption closely enough. "This had never happened in any of the (previous) tests," he said.

The Globe and Mail consistently tracked the crashes and the investigations. On Feb. 26, the paper covered the second failure with a page-one story that ran 26 column-inches and fully covered all sides in the debate over whether the tests should continue. The next day, the paper ran two more stories, headlined: "Failures could mean more tests, expert says" and "Cruise crashed 15 minutes away from community." And in an editorial, "Low technology," the paper wondered if "the cruise missiles now being deployed in Europe carry a firm assurance that their engines will start and that someone will remember to fill up the tank before launch, so that the nuclear weapons will at least be carried safely away from the side that launches them."

Once again, U.S. papers gave the story short shrift. Six of the eleven dailies we monitor did note the second crash, but with brief wire service dispatches played inside. The longest stories appeared in *The San Diego Union* (eight column-inches) and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (ten column-inches). Both quoted Major Luigi Rossetto, a public affairs officer with the Canadian Forces, as explaining that "northwestern Canada was chosen as a test area because its geography and climate resemble that of the northern Soviet Union," presumably including head winds. Of the six papers, only *The New York Times* (Feb. 27) even hinted that a considerable debate over testing was going on in Canada.

If the anti-cruise forces win that debate and Canada ultimately tells the Pentagon to go fly its missile elsewhere, tests would have to take place over home territory. When a missile buzzes a newsroom in Utah, maybe then the test flights will become a story in the U.S.

—Steven Bram

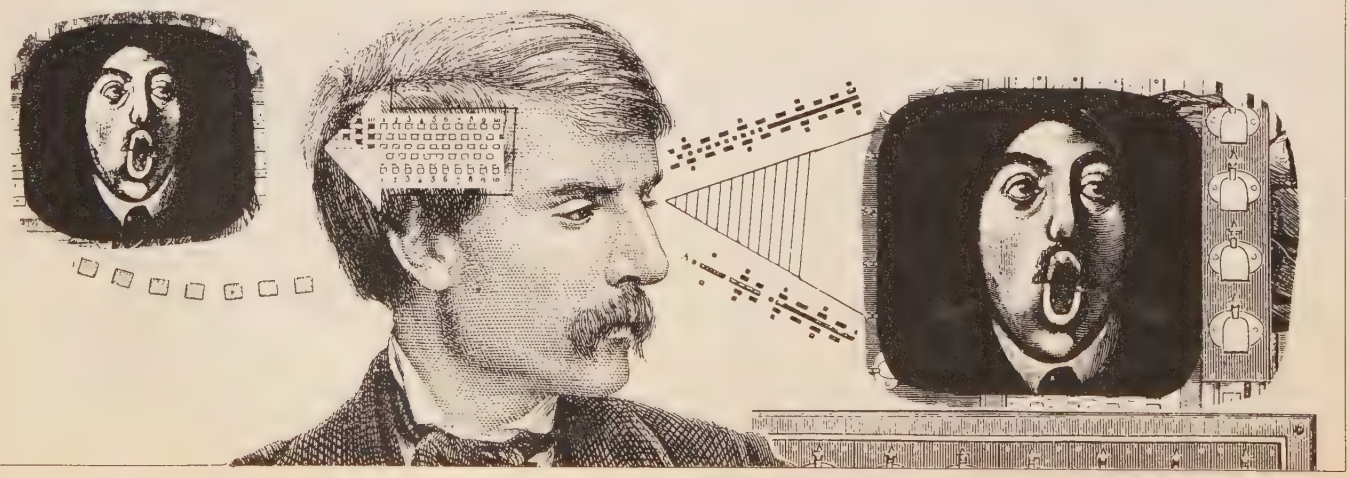
What is the Real Message That Rocky and Dan Rather Send?

The Russians have been complaining a lot lately about *Rocky IV* and *Rambo*. They overstate their case by charging that these films were ordered up from Washington; but, in general, they do have a point. Polls show that the American public knows very little about the Soviet Union: among the respondents to a recent ABC/*Washington Post* survey, one-third did not realize that the Soviet Union and the United States had fought on the same side in World War II, only half could identify Mikhail Gorbachev as the Soviet leader, and 36 percent named as parts of the U.S.S.R. either China, India, or Monaco. Doubtless, however, astonishing numbers of Americans could tell you in detail just how Ivan Drago trained for the big fight with Rocky Balboa.

When it comes to messages about what kind of people the Russians are, what kind of world they want, and whether we are likely to find some way to live with them in it, *non*-news media, our organs of popular culture, carry the big punch. And it is one that affects how "true news" about the same subjects is received. For studies of news make it clear that people mainly hear what they want to hear and read what reinforces their opinions; when they stumble on something else, they tend to blot it out or forget it. The cognitive environment in which the news is consumed is thus important in determining what people will in fact read or watch, what they will try to remember, master and really think about. This cognitive environment is created by political leadership in the first instance, but it is then ramified and elaborated on by the entire apparatus of culture.

Insofar as this environment tends to govern what people remember of what they have read or watched, it is a phenomenon beyond the power of the journalists on the Soviet or national security beats to affect. No matter what they may write, the reception of their stories is a factor largely beyond their control. Theatrical films are just one of the forces that create what Walter Lippmann, in another context, called the "aura of suggestion as to how we ought to feel about the news." *Amerika*, the ten-hour mini-series from ABC about a Soviet occupation of the United States, will be another sort of extra-journalistic force shaping the way people read the news datelined Geneva, Moscow, or Los Alamos.

The aura around the Soviet-American story is also created by the news itself. Powerful messages are often contained in news stories that seem peripheral to the basic arms control and diplomatic stories: the way Olympic competitions are



framed for us, for example, creates strong impressions about the nature of our Soviet adversary, about his worthiness (read power) and about his sportsmanship (read trustworthiness). The subtext of a story about Soviet athletes taking steroids before entering a competition is a message about Soviet generals taking advantage after signing a treaty. Readers and viewers are bombarded daily by such messages and it is not surprising that over a period of years the public, like some hunk of uranium in an atomic pile, begins to react. Here is a short list of recent stories of this sort that omits reports from the Soviet Union itself and those explicitly about arms control or military affairs:

Dissidents tasting freedom; the papal assassination plot; KAL 007; the seaman who jumped ship and other asylum-seekers; the Yurchenko affair; espionage in general; attempts to limit technology transfers; attempts to limit the domestic circulation of scientific knowledge; industrial espionage; the use of lie-detector tests by federal agencies; U.S.-Soviet economic relations; the demand that the Soviets shrink their U.N. delegation; Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Libya.

In the case of Libya, the United States and the Soviet Union went to some lengths to avoid confrontation during the Battle of Sidra Gulf in March; still, in some hands, the story was made to carry the opposite impression. The words from Dan Rather's mouth when he was the first to break into morning programming to announce the shooting were not about Libya but about the U.S.S.R.: he said, "CBS News has learned that a U.S. aircraft has been fired upon by an SA-5 Soviet-made missile fired from Libya."

In this lead it was a Soviet missile (fired from Libya) that attacked the U.S. plane. The missile is the agent. Another way of writing it (assuming that the manufacture of the missile belonged in the lead at all) would have been: "CBS News has learned that a U.S. aircraft has been fired upon by Libya using a Soviet-made SA-5 missile." Here the responsibility for the attack rests with the human agents who in fact undertook it. If CBS wanted to hedge against the possibility that Russians were in fact pushing the buttons on Libyan soil, the new lead could have been changed to say that "a U.S. aircraft has been fired upon by a Libyan base" using the very same Soviet SA-5.

As do all leads, Rather's framed the issue for the viewer, suggesting the agent (a Soviet missile) and thereby the meaning (Soviet-American confrontation). This on a day notable perhaps above all for the fact that after giving their Libyan clients a few rocks to throw at the American planes, the Russians had gone home.

By deploying the Homeric epithet "Soviet-made missile," Rather was putting the viewer on notice that the rest of the story should be taken as a commentary on Soviet acts and intentions. Textual critics call this literary device "indexing": Rather was indexing something he did not in fact present, pointing to a bundle of notions about the U.S.S.R. as a militaristic, imperial, and terrorist power. He did so, to be sure, in objective fashion. He merely gave data about the missile's manufacture. But such a fact in the lead of this story tells a tale that remains unspoken. It is in fact a bit of para-information, distinct from the real thing in that it conveys less the news about the story at hand than an attitude about another story that is never acknowledged.

News stories about Soviet-American affairs may also create their own aura, delivering together both the news and the cognitive environment in which it is received. For example, stories may do this by indexing the public's tacit assumptions about the nature of Soviet or American society. Reports at the time of the recent Communist Party Congress illustrate the point:

• From Philip Taubman's *New York Times* account of a press conference held by Politburo member Geidar A. Aliyev: "There was a willingness to talk about almost any subject—but not to challenge basic Soviet values."

• From William J. Eaton's report of a speech by Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov, distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service: Ryzhkov said the economy went into a tailspin after Brezhnev's death, but he said so, according to Eaton, in "the Kremlin tradition of assigning blame to predecessors."

• From Betsy Aaron's Siberian segment during ABC's "Inside the Other Side" series, after Maria Vasilyevna, a construction worker, replied, "We never blame, we criticize," to Aaron's question about whom to blame for the region's polluted rivers: "Spoken as a dedicated Party member," said Aaron, "Maria knows the rules: Never criticize the system, criticize the circumstances."

Each of these remarks was a gloss on the news it accompanied. Each could stand with no explanation because it indexed assumptions about Soviet life. Each assumption about the Russians had force because it implied a contrast to tacit beliefs about Americans.

What these assumptions were, finally, becomes clear if we interrogate the texts: We might ask *The New York Times,* which was disappointed that a high Soviet official did not challenge basic Soviet values: When has an American done so, and kept his job? We might ask *The Los Angeles Times,* which viewed criticism of predecessors as a Kremlin tradition: What was President Reagan up to the week before when he faulted previous administrations for weakening the country's strategic forces, incurring the wrath of Jimmy Carter? Or, we might ask ABC, which found Communist cant in the preference for criticism over blame: What is to be made of Esalen or the self-help books that offer the same advice from every paperback rack in America? And we might also ask ABC, since Aaron found it a Party rule to criticize only circumstances: Is it really the American way to criticize the system?

Readers and viewers do not often talk back to the news. It arrives with self-evident authority. It builds upon shared assumptions. It makes sense by making the world seem clear. In short, it arrives in an aura. Journalists can do little about the aura supplied by popular culture. The writer of even the most objective story loses control of it once it is read or viewed in the flow of everyday life. But the aura the news supplies on its own is controlled by the people who write, edit and produce it. They know how to ask the conventional tough questions. But it is only the unconventional tough ones that will end the reflexive indexing that subverts the news. By posing them, the news can be distinguished from dogma.

—Robert Karl Manoff

The 27th Soviet Party Congress As Seen on U.S. Television

For twelve nights running in late February and early March, *ABC World News Tonight* took its viewers "Inside the Other Side." The *CBS Evening News* also used the occasion of the Soviet Union's 27th Party Congress to go "Behind Party Lines." *Entertainment Tonight*, the syndicated nightly news program of the entertainment industry, went to the Soviet Union, too. Surprisingly, only "Entertainment Tonight" got far enough behind party lines to bring its viewers some real news about what's going on inside the other side.

If "Inside the Other Side" was disappointing, it was not for lack of trying. ABC sent 26 people to film its segments. Five of its top correspondents took their viewers to Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn, Murmansk, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Severomorsk and Polyarnyy for beginner courses on Soviet life ranging from education and medicine to technology, the military and even Lenin's role in Soviet political culture. Peter Jennings anchored *World News Tonight* from Red Square for the first week of the Party Congress. The twelve segments combined ran 68 minutes—an eternity in TV time, the equivalent of three nightly news broadcasts.

ABC employed its resources to good effect when it kept to the modest goal of simply informing its viewers. George Strait let the pictures and the Russians speak for themselves in his second report on Soviet health care. His piece on high-tech medicine showed us an assembly line of patients passing through "a completely computerized and automated

operating room for eye surgery that Soviet doctors and a few American physicians say will cure nearsightedness." He also gave us the case of Nikolai Popovich, who has skin cancer, but has been told it's a non-cancerous lesion. Strait then simply asked Dr. Nikolai Trapeznikov why? "In our country," the physician said, "we don't say the truth to the patients. It's very easy because the patient doesn't want to feel that he has a cancer, you know, and when I tell him that he has no cancer, he's very happy."

John McWethy also did some excellent straightforward reporting on life in Murmansk, the largest city above the arctic circle, where swimming in temperatures of 20 degrees below zero is "what a hearty group of Russians call fun." When the Soviets wouldn't let McWethy go to the nearby navy bases at Severomorsk and Polyarnyy, he bought some time on a commercial satellite and showed us "computer enhanced photographs" revealing "a huge port facility with more than a dozen piers for loading supplies, ammunition and men." These segments of solid reporting made good television because they used pictures to give us an impression of a place we'd never seen, showing us things we didn't expect to find.

Unfortunately, most ABC correspondents tried to do too much in the four-minute segments, reporting on broad and vastly complicated areas of Soviet life and often drawing gratuitous comparisons with the U.S. For one thing, ABC rarely left home for long when it went "Inside the Other Side." In Strait's first report on Soviet medicine we heard a lot about how many Soviets come down with hepatitis, the measles, etc., and how many fewer Americans suffer from the same ailments. And when Richard Threlkeld took us to Leningrad, we spent a lot of time comparison shopping in Minneapolis. In ten of the twelve segments, exactly half of the on-camera interviews were with Americans on home ground.

On balance, the ABC segments suggested that to take a trip "Inside the Other Side" was to travel backward in time. Threlkeld summed up Leningrad as a "place that seems more comfortable with the past than the future, as if the bitter cold had stopped its clock." He suggested that not much had changed since the Russian Revolution in 1917, perhaps because "the stuffing has gone out of it." Indeed, pre-revolutionary Russians would feel very much at home in Threlkeld's Soviet Union. "Today their great grandchildren no longer serve the czar, but the state and the party, doing what's expected."

To Moscow Bureau Chief Walter Rodgers, even Lenin's role in Soviet political culture suggested a direct line between the Soviet Union and 19th century Russia, when the czar was both head of state and the Russian Orthodox Church. Having merely changed the official state religion, Lenin became "the new Soviet messiah," "a teacher and prophet," "a Russian icon" who is "portrayed as omniscient."

ABC's preoccupation with Soviet backwardness came off more than a little smug; but the network often meant it as a compliment. Those remaining vestiges of pre-Soviet Russia were presented as pockets of Soviet life still unsoiled by Leninism. This is a complicated argument to make on television, so ABC usually bolstered its case with loaded images that had little to do with the voice-overs they were supposed to illustrate.

If the gap between Soviet and American technological prowess represented our differences, the faces of young Russian children came to represent our similarities, as if, having not yet reached the age of consent, they were pure and pre-Soviet, like the remnants of old Russia. When Threlkeld confessed that the Soviet Union "has an attraction," we see young girls playing balalaikas and dressed in the garb of czarist Russia. When he said that "like us they love their kids," we cut to a classroom where "you watch a little girl struggling through her reader and you say to yourself that's just like in America."

Reporting on Soviet technology, McWethy concluded that in "a country where . . . all information is strictly controlled, the notion of giving millions of people . . . their own com-

puters poses a real dilemma. But without widespread use of computers, modernization will stagnate." Many Western economic strides aren't possible without computers. But if the Soviets are as far behind us as "Inside the Other Side" suggested, they could do a lot of modernizing without putting a PC on every desk top. On television, however, the proof is in the pictures. When McWethy says that "without computers, modernization will stagnate," we get a close-up of a little blond boy. The connection between the child's face and the subject at hand is remote at best. But the picture isn't supposed to illustrate the point; it's supposed to create a mood for it. And this it does very effectively. First, the little boy looks straight into the camera. Then he lowers his eyes almost in shame, as the prospects for modernization pass him by in the voice-over.

CBS had a different image problem. Pictures from "Behind Party Lines" were often so arbitrary they didn't seem relevant to much of anything. Tom Fenton concluded his report on the Soviet economy saying, "It will take more than a new five-year plan and grandiose statistics to change a Russia where you can still see women washing clothes in a frozen stream with the temperature at 10 degrees below zero." We did see one. But trying to pass this woman off as a representative Soviet citizen is a swindle.

Still, Fenton's pictures were sometimes revealing, often to the point of undercutting what they were supposed to illustrate, or even the entire premise of a story. Introducing Fenton's report on the Soviet economy, CBS anchor Dan Rather said that "Tom Fenton tonight has a rare look at what Soviet officials don't want you to see, a Soviet economy often racked by corruption and red from rust." In fact, both times we actually got a "look" at Soviet corruption, the pictures came from Soviet television. If the implication of Rather's intro was that the Soviet Union is a closed society (stop the presses!), the pictures of corruption the Soviets are showing their people suggest a society becoming more, not less, open.

When "Behind Party Lines" tried to make discrete points, CBS, like ABC, ensured that the pictures stuck close to the script. CBS correspondent Bernard Goldberg didn't need any fancy camera work to show how Soviets conceive of freedom in his excellent report on that subject, he just showed the Soviets having their say on the matter. And it was hard to deny Fenton's assertion that a tractor factory had been spruced up to put on "a show orchestrated by this plant official, who motioned for the assembly line to slow down back to normal as we left." Fenton's camera caught him in the act.

The "Entertainment Tonight Goes To Russia" segments were consistently better than the ABC and CBS reports because they were convincing and informative all the time. *Entertainment Tonight* didn't go to Russia with any grand notions about giving a representative sample of all aspects of Soviet life or telling us how to feel about Soviet society with manipulative coded images. The program concentrated on simply showing you the unexpected.

Without fail, each of the six reports opened with a lead setting out what you might expect from Soviet entertainment given what we all know about Soviet society, and then surprising you. For example, reporter Shellie Karabell opened the

Thank You, Mr. President

On April 9, President Reagan addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors, assembled in Washington for its annual spring meeting. He set the chummy tone at the outset by retailing an anecdote that "my friend Punch Sulzberger," publisher of *The New York Times*, tells about his "most remarkable" mother. That done, the president moved on to boast of his administration's economic achievements. Then he praised the "democracy" the United States had helped bring to El Salvador and followed up with an attack on the "savageness and inhumanity" of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. If arms control or Soviet-American relations was on his mind that day, he apparently was not disposed to bring the subjects up in front of the editors.

Ever so politely, they responded in kind. Seven editors managed to get in respectful questions following the president's opening remarks. They dealt with Ferdinand Marcos, the Contadora initiative in Central America, falling oil prices, military censorship, terrorism and the harshness of the president's attacks on his critics. But none of these news gatekeepers, presented with a unique opportunity to ask their commander in chief about the possibility of nuclear war or the prospects of avoiding it, appeared interested. No questions were forthcoming about "Star Wars," about the administration's insistence on continued underground nuclear tests, about the Soviet test moratorium (which ended two days later), or about the souring atmosphere surrounding the next summit. The failure of any editor to touch on these matters reveals, once again, the mind-set that prevails in too many newsrooms, one that simply doesn't admit that the issues of war and peace deserve serious, sustained consideration.

Better just to get on with the administration. As David Corcoran, of *The Record* in Hackensack, N.J., told the president, "Americans overwhelmingly regard you as a nice guy . . ." In turn, Reagan assured his audience that he went along with Thomas Jefferson's belief in a free press.

—R.P.

first segment saying that "Soviet television is completely run by the government, but that doesn't mean it's full of political messages." Cut to a Soviet quiz show, the most popular program on Soviet TV. With this approach, Karabell teaches a great deal about Soviet entertainment—and Soviet society: there are 88 million TV sets in the Soviet Union; its largest film studio puts out 150 films a year, more than all the Hollywood studios combined; an album of break dancing music is the hottest record in Russia now; the first Soviet video store opened in January.

Karabell, an Associated Press radio reporter hired by *Entertainment Tonight* especially for these segments, consistently gave us provocative pictures. A Soviet rock video looked rebellious and decadent. At rock clubs, Soviet kids wore dark sunglasses and their hair fashionably spiked. We saw scenes from a new Soviet play about the Cuban Missile Crisis "from the American point of view." Reporting on another Soviet play, "Lenin on Trial," we didn't need Karabell to tell us how intrusive Soviet propaganda can be. One scene will do. When the play gets around to questioning "basic Communist ideals," the set literally collapses.

Karabell's segments were also provocative because she let the Soviets speak for themselves. Some were self-serving, but the producer of the popular quiz show said, for instance, that "a psychologist told us that the TV viewers won't buy this idea, but . . . televiewers were so interested in this 'play' that they really felt like being participants." Three things can be surmised from this single sentence: 1) Soviet TV watchers are called "televiewers"; 2) Soviet producers use psychologists to help market programs; 3) calling the show a "play" reveals that some people in Russia still think of television as live theater. This doesn't lead to any grand thesis about the nature of Soviet Communism, or even of Soviet television; it's just interesting; it raises questions; it makes you think.

Karabell's arguments usually made sense and were convincing because they weren't too sweeping. ABC and CBS used pictures to set you up emotionally for arguments they couldn't make logically, the way a horror movie uses background music to draw you into a scene you wouldn't swallow otherwise. Karabell didn't need irrelevant pictures of young girls playing balalaikas to prove her point, because she didn't set out to prove anything at all. In the small time allotted her, Karabell taught *Entertainment Tonight* viewers a great deal about Soviet entertainment and society that they didn't know before—a good deal more than the legions that covered the story for ABC and CBS.

—Tony Kaye

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast. Please submit July and August events by June 1.

MAY 10

CALIFORNIA

• **Oakland/Berkeley** Fourth Annual Peace Essay Contest Awards ceremony. This year's topic: "How do we resolve conflict between nations without the use of war?" *Contact*: East Bay Women for Peace, 2302 Ellsworth St, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 849-3020.

IOWA

• **Iowa Falls** Iowa Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is sponsoring a spring Freeze Walk to raise funds for the local, state and national Freeze Campaigns. A second walk will take place in **Dubuque** on **May 25**. *Contact*: Jay Robinson, Iowa Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** 6th Annual Mother's Day March for Peace and Justice, with speaker Jackie Jackson (wife of Jesse) and music by Larry Long and Cari Gerendasy. *Contact*: Women Against Military Madness, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5364.

MAY 14

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Conference, "Breaking the Cycle of Violence: Empowering for Peace in the Nuclear Age," with speakers and workshops focusing on nuclear concerns and pragmatic peacemaking skills. *Contact*: Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 Euclid Av, Pasadena, CA 91101 (818) 449-9430 or (213) 681-4292.

MAY 15

NEW YORK

• **Albany** Benefit for the Freeze Campaign: *Gold*, a fable based on Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. Performed by the NY Street Theatre Caravan; The College of St Rose, **through May 16**. *Contact*: Upper Hudson Nuclear Freeze, 196 Morton Av, Albany, NY 12202 (518) 463-0644.

• **New York** *In the Traffic of a Targeted City* presents a vision of how we live in the nuclear age. Showing Thursdays through Sundays, **through June 1**, at the Theatre for the New City, 162 2 Av, New York, NY 10003 (212) 254-1109.

MAY 17

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Minnesota Freeze Campaign will hold its 4th annual Freeze walk to raise funds for the Campaign's upcoming year of activity and demonstrate the wide base of support for a bilateral freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. *Contact*: Minnesota Freeze Campaign, 2401 University Av, St Paul, MN 55114 (612) 729-0382.

MAY 22

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Lecture, "Reflections on Genocide: Nazi and Nuclear," with Robert Jay Lifton. *Contact*: Sue Goodwin, Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q St NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-9382.

MAY 23

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Concord** Action at Sanders Associates, largest military contractor in NH. Demonstrations, possible civil disobedience. *Contact*: New Hampshire Women's Network, PO Box 311, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 224-4163.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** "National War Tax Action Conference," discussions on taxes, supporting militarism and war, featuring strategy, planning, outreach and organizing workshops, and a training session for war tax counselors and lawyers; **through May 26**. *Contact*: Kathy Levine, NWTRCC, PO Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772 (516) 654-8227.

TENNESSEE

• **Memphis** Workshop, "Gandhi and King: The Legacy of Nonviolence;" **through May 24**. *Contact*: Hubert Van Tol, PO Box 11428, Memphis, TN 38111-0428 (901) 452-6997.

MAY 25

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Annual meeting of American Association for the Advancement of Science. The Committee on Science, Arms Control and National Security will be sponsoring seven symposia on arms control and national security topics, with Paul Nitze, Ralph Earl, A.G. Arbatov, and others; **through May 30**. *Contact*: Ken Luongo, 1333 H St NW, Washington, DC 20005 (202) 326-6490.

MAY 30

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and 91 members of Congress are cosponsoring a conference on a common sense defense budget and restoring the economic and social health of the nation. With plenary speaker Paul Warnke. A Freeze fifth anniversary fundraiser/reception will follow the conference. *Contact*: Bill Kaplan, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St NE Ste 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880.

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Conference, "Across the Abyss: New Opportunities, New Visions for US-Soviet Relations;" **through June 1**. *Contact*: Across the Abyss, D-PC, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St, Philadelphia 19102 (215) 241-7171.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Conference; "Beyond the Summit: A Bridge to Understanding," to inform peace activists of the opportunities for change in US-Soviet relations, for finding ways of reducing anti-Soviet sentiment, and to help people become better informed on what peace activists can do before the next summit meetings; **through May 31**. *Contact*: Twin City Peace & Justice Coalition, 2401 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 729-0382.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

TEST SITE ACTIONS

Joint action by the Nuclear Freeze Campaign and the American Peace Test at the Nevada Test Site. **May 31** is Freeze Day at the test site; the two following days will feature nonviolent activities, including both legal protests and civil disobedience; **through June 1**. *Contact*: Alan Gregory, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St NE, Ste 130, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880 or Jessie Cocks at the American Peace Test, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126 (702) 878-4989.

PUBLIC INTEREST RADIO

New Voices, a half-hour public affairs radio program produced by the Public Interest Video Network (PIVN), and carried by 150 radio stations across the country, is now being broadcast weekly. The show, which is sponsored by various nonprofit organizations, deals with a variety of public interest issues, including world peace, environmental protection, the antinuclear movement, and social justice. For information, *contact*: Cece Lobin, PIVN, 2309 18 St NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 797-8997.

WALK FOR PEACE

The National Pilgrimage to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race will take place this year from **May 24 to June 1**, as walkers cover the 100 miles from Philadelphia to Washington, D.C. Daily programs and special events, with food and indoor lodging provided. Pre-registration is necessary. *Contact*: The National Pilgrimage Office, Usdan Suite 133, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254 (617) 647-2104.

RAINBOW SIGN

Rainbow Sign, the season of the Jewish year coinciding with the period from **May 26 to June 5**, is an appropriate time to renew commitment to the preservation of all life on earth from the danger of nuclear holocaust. The Shalom Center has prepared materials for the observance of the season, and can provide speakers for local services. For information, *contact*: The Shalom Center, Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Church Road and Greenwood Av, Wyncote, PA 19095 (215) 576-0800.

NUCLEAR WAR TAX RESISTANCE

Massachusetts antinuclear activists have initiated a "Declaration of Noncooperation with the Nuclear Arms Race," linked to a refusal to pay federal income taxes or to cooperate with their collection until a comprehensive U.S.-Soviet nuclear weapons freeze is achieved. For a copy of the declaration and further information send a 22-cent stamp to: "Declaration," Box 1014, Northampton, MA 01061.

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Charlotte** "New Directions," WAND's Fourth Annual Membership Conference, will focus on how to sustain the demanding work of nuclear disarmament, and will feature workshops and speakers, including Dr. Helen Caldicott, Betty Bumpers, and Ted Turner, plus a benefit concert by James Taylor; **through June 1**. *Contact*: WAND, PO Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258 (617) 643-6740.

JUNE 3

COLORADO

• **Denver** "Third National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution," featuring a skill building institute and over 100 workshop sessions; **through June 8**. *Contact*: Janet Rifkin, The Mediation Project, 127 Hasbrouck Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003 (413) 545-2462 or 545-2001.

JUNE 6

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Conference, "The Nuclear Arms Race: Survival Dilemma for People of Color," with plenaries, workshops and more. National and local peace oranizations and activists invited. Scheduled speakers include Washington DC Mayor Marion Barry and Paul Warnke; **through June 8**. *Contact*: Darryl Rogers, Citizens Against Nuclear War, 1201 16 St NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 822-7483.

JUNE 14

COLORADO

• **Boulder** Conference, "Strategies for Peacemaking: How to Be It, How to Do It;" **through June 21**. *Contact*: Naropa Institute, 2130 Arapahoe Av, Boulder, CO 80302 (303) 444-0202.

JUNE 22

SOVIET UNION

• **Kiev** Forty men and women will begin "Bike for Peace '86," a six-week, 1400 mile bicycle journey from Kiev to New York. This project is part of series of events that make up the United Nations Year of Peace. *Contact*: Teamworks Inc, 125 Main St, Westport, CT 06880.

JUNE 26

NEW MEXICO

• **Los Alamos** and **Santa Fe** The Trinity Conference: "A Fresh Approach to Building Security in the Nuclear Age," will bring together experts and concerned citizens with diverse perspectives to identify common interests and work together to prevent nuclear war and build global security, with New Mexico Senators Peter Domenici and Jeff Bingaman and others; **through June 28**. *Contact*: Bruce Berlin, The Trinity Conference, PO Box 8636, Santa Fe, NM 87504 (505) 473-4298.

JULY 4

NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** The Heartland Peace Pilgrimage, a journey for peace by people of faith, will converge at SAC headquarters and connect with the Great Peace March. Rally on **July 6** will include an opportunity for nonviolent civil disobedience. *Contact*: Heartland Peace Pilgrimage, Sisters of Mercy, 1801 S 72 St, Omaha, NE 68124.

Compiled by Greg Tobias with Ron Calogeras and M.B. Christie

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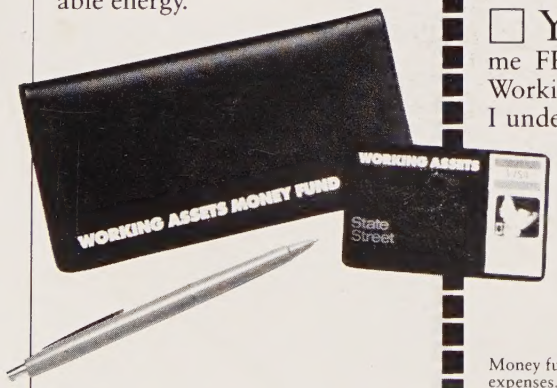

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403

1. *Forbes*, September 16, 1985